

TOLERATION

WITH ITS

Principal Objections

Fully confuted,

OR AN

ANSWER

To a Book entituled, *Sions groans for her distressed, &c. offered to the Kings Majesty, Parliament, and people.* Wherein is pretended to be proved by Scripture, Reason, and Authority of fifteen Ancients, That equal protection under different perswasions, is the undoubted right of Christian Liberty.

BUT

Hereby confuted, wherein the power and proceedings of the Kings Majesty and the Church are vindicated.

By H. S. D.D. Chapl. to his Majesty in Ordinary.

2 Pet. 1. 1, 2, 3. *But there were false Prophets among the people, as there shall be false Teachers among you———by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of.*

Jude 8. *These filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities.*

Jude 16. *These are murmurers, complainers.*

Jude 19. *These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for H. R. and are to be sold at the Sign of the Three Pigeons in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1663.

TOLERATION

Principal Objections
Fully considered.

Imprimatur.

Geo. Stradling S. T. P. Rev. in Chri-
sta Pat. D. Gilb. Episc. Lond.
a Sat. domest.

Ex Aed. Sab.
12. Feb. 1662.



FOR
Colonel *R. ATKINS*,
One of the Deputy Lieutenants
of the County of
GLOUCESTER.

SIR,

I Have perused the Pamphlet you
left at my Lodging, and [ac-
cording to your desire grounded
upon the consideration of the
advantages, which seditious per-
sons suck, in things of this nature, from the si-
lence of the Orthodox] given you my sense of
it.

A 2

Which

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Which task [if it prove satisfactory to any,
and particularly to render that Friend of yours,
and of your most accomlisht Lady's, stedly,
who is yet balancing in her resolutions] I shall
put upon the account of favours done to,

SIR,

Your humble Servant

H. S.

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THE
Dew of Hermon

Which fell upon the
Hill of SION.

Sett. 1.



IN the Epistle to the Reader, they compare these times to that of our Saviours passion; wherein *the same things*, they say, are fallen out, which our Saviour foresold should come to passe after his passion, viz. That *the father hath been divided against the son; and the son against the father, three against two; and two against three, even a mans foes have been they of his own household*: And it is very true that they say herein, namely, that the same things have fallen out now, as then, but with this difference, viz. That those divisions which were predicted by our Saviour to come to passe after his death, were meerly eventual as receiving, no causality or real influx from the passion of our Saviour, whose Legacy to his Church was peace and unity, given by his Testament, and sealed with his blood: whereas, these divisions are not meerly eventual,

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but consequential too, necessarily following, as an effect does its cause, *it is the removal of the impediment.* For it hath been long ago *planted up in the world,* that these things had been brewing above three score years before they came to passe, but never ripe for execution till the passion, or the captivity of the King: whereupon the foundation were cast down, and the fencers of Government broken: *which once removed out of the way,* then did that shew it self openly, *that in his law among you* to have been practised privately before, *viz.* the sons excommunicating the father, and the father the sons: lastly, one son excommunicating the other, till three Churches were found in three persons of one house, if it be not a solecisme so to speak. And truly, to use their own words, *He is a stranger in this our Israel, that hath not seen these things.* And whereas for their pretence, they alledge the golden Rule of our Saviour, *viz.* *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, the same do ye also unto them:* Our Saviour never intended hereby to loosen the reins of Government, and to let them lye upon the necks of those that are like horse or mule that have no understanding, whose mouths must be held with the bit and bridle of the Law; but this he would have to be understood of a well governed will, subjected to right reason: otherwise a criminal at the bar might say to the Judge, my Lord [nay he must call him Sirra too] you passe sentence of condemnation upon me, and therefore I suppose you willing, according to our Saviours Rule, that I passe the same upon you: let us therefore change places for a while, and so we shall both, in three dayes, take our turnes at *Tiburn*, or else pardon one the other for what is past, and give mutual liberty to do what we please for the time to come; and so not only become the sons of the free woman, but be freed from that bondage, which those of the bond-woman would bring us into [it is the very Metaphor which they here pursue] which if the Judge refuses [and he is mad if he does not] then does he [in the sense of the Authors] offer violence to the conscience of the offenders, as hereafter will appear. *And least this violence and oppression should terminate in the blood of those, which are dear to God, they have, as they say, committed this to the view of all men, &c.* These are the fears and jealousies, which have occasioned the spilling of so much innocent blood as has been of late shed, which cries so lowd against the men
of

of their generation [as they call themselves] that I do not wonder they are afraid of their own [though they fear where no fear is] till *Cain* became the shedder of his brothers blood; he never cried that the next man which met him should slay him? This fear and jealousy was then and is now a meer slander of the good Laws and practice of the King, as I shall have occasion hereafter to show.

SECT. 2.

THis Epistle ended, they date it *the eighth day of the third month*: which of it self notes their inclination to thwart all the world though it be for nothing but their mindes sake. And albeit they come with a seeming resolution of admitting of no proofs but what are taken out of the New Testament, yet have no pattern at all for this their manner of dating, but what they are beholden to the Old Testament for [for in the New they have no footstep of it at all] wherein they become guilty of a threefold vanity: which I shall discover upon the resolution of three *Queries*. 1. What the months in Scripture were? 2. By what names they were called? 3. When they began? For answer to the first, I say. That the *Hebrews* seemd at first to measure their months according to the course of the Sun, calling them *MENSES SOLARES*, every moneth consisting of thirty daies: for the Scripture saies, *that the waters prevailed from the seventeenth day of the second month*, Gen. 7. 11. *unto the seventeenth day of the seventh month*, Gen. 8. 4. that is, full five months, and if we will number the daies, they were one hundred and fifty, Gen. 7. 14. whereby it is evident that every moneth contained full thirty daies. After the *Africans* departure out of *Egypt*, they measured their months by the course of the Moon: and because the year of the Synodical or consequential months of the Moon [which are the longest of *LUNAR* months] comes short of the year of the Sun by eleven daies, and a fourth part, hence the *Jews* and *Greeks* too, every eight years made an Embolisme, *i. e.* an intercalation or interjection, of three months; as the Centurists have noted out of *Africans*, Gen. 1. 1. c. 10. And albeit St. *Aug. de Civ. Dei*. l. 15. c. 14. and with him others do hold that they reckoned by *Months* *LUNARES*, as

well before as after the giving of the Law: yet the same father in the same place gives to every moneth thirty daies, whereas the full Synodical moneth of the Moon is but twenty nine daies, twelve hours, and forty four minutes, as *Iud. Pava* hath observed upon him: whereunto *Grecians* adds three seconds and twelve thirds, *Tract. de Temp. Can. 17*. These things being so, they must tell us what moneths they mean, whether the moneths of the Sun, or the moneths of the Moon? and if of the Moon, then whether the periodical or Synodical moneth from the beginning whereof they reckon their eighth day? otherwise they might have left out their date to this Epistle, in as much as dates are to be certain.

For answer to the second. Before the Captivity in *Babylon* the moneths in Scripture are almost all reckoned [without name] according to the order of their Calender, by first, second, and third moneth, &c. After their return from Captivity they counted them all by names according to the example of the *Assyrians* and *Chaldeans*, amongst whom they lived, and with whom the studie of the Mathematicks flourished; some of those they borrowed from the *Chaldeans*, whereof mention is made in *Zachary*, *Ester*, *Nehemiah*, &c. neither do I finde that unler or after the Captivity, they expressed their moneths at all by numeral words. 'Tis true that *Luc. 2. 26, 26* mention is made of the sixth moneth: but it's not to be understood of the general account of the whole year, but of that particular thing, viz. the sixth moneth from the conception of *John Baptist* in the womb of his mother *Elizabeth*, which compute might begin any day of any stated moneth, as well as the first of the first moneth, viz. any day of *Jiar*, *Sivan*, *Thammuz*, *Cislan*, &c. as well as the first of *Nisvan* or *Xisvan*: and indeed the Ecclesiastical tradition is that this compute began six moneths before the twenty fifth of *March*, though those that are against the celebration of *Christmas* [which depends hereon] contend against it: but their arguments are meetly destructive, and brought to puzzle the truth, not to prove any thing at all. Now to apply all this. If the people of God did not scruple to call their moneths by the same name as the *Chaldeans* did, among whom they lived, and never after by the first, second, and third, &c. as they had done before, why do these men now begin to make it a matter of conscience to do otherwise, and that without example in all the New Testament, or in the Old

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Testament after the return from the Captivity; or lastly, of any reformed Church in Christendome; which use the same names of moneths, and the same order of their Calender, as the State wherein they live does.

The third Querie is, when the moneths mentioned in Scripture began their account of first, second, and third, &c? for resolution whereof it will be requisite to answer to two Queries, 1. What was the first moneth? 2. When was the first day of that moneth?

To the first I answer, That *Buxtorfe* will tell you, in his *Jewish Synagogue*, out of the *Talmud*, that the *Jews* had four seasons of the year; which they called the first moneths in several respects. But certain it is, out of the Scripture it self, that before their coming out of *Egypt*, the moneth *Tisri* was their first moneth; which began about the Autumnal Equinox [for it is called the feast of Ingathering, which is perfected in the end of the year *Levit. 23. 39.* [and to the end of the old year, immediately succeeds the beginning of the New.] the same continued for civil affairs; After their coming out of *Egypt*, their year began in the moneth *NISAN*, or *ABIB*, which was about the Vernal Equinox, *Exod. 12. 2.* Then it was that God first said, *This moneth shall be to thee the beginning of months*, viz. in order to sacred solemnities, *Lev. 23.* all the Ceremonies of the Law.

To the second I answer, That of these moneths of the *Hebrews* no certain time of beginning can be shewn, by reason of the anticipation of Equinoxes, and the new Moons not recurring in the same moments of time. The modern *Jews*, and others that follow them, refer the first moneth *NISAN* to our *March*; and it is manifest, that this moneth was called, the moneth of new fruits or ears of corn, because then did the corn put forth full ears, *Exod. 9. 31.* the Barley was in the ear, and the Flax was balled before they came out of *Egypt*: and this moneth is called, *Josh. 3. 15.* the time of Harvest, because then did Harvest begin: whence it is probable, that this first moneth was a little later then the time of our *March*: which is yet more evident from the time of the Vernal Equinox, which in the time of *Julius Caesar* fell the twenty fifth of *March*, not the tenth or eleventh, as now it does: the sacred year therefore of the *Jews* beginning about the Vernal Equinox, it follows, that

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most of, or all the first moneth thereof, must fall in *April*. The like may be said of the first moneth of the civil year, which may begin in the middle or end of *September*, or beginning of *October* with us. Now then, these Authors dating their Epistle the eighth day of the third moneth, who can tell whether they mean the third from the Vernal, or the third from the Autumnal Equinox, *b. e.* from the beginning of the ceremonial or civil year? All Ceremonies they set themselves against, unlesse of their own devising; and no civil constitutions will their conscience be bound by: wherefore in what moneth of the year, or in what day of the moneth, to find such men, that do not know where to find themselves, is more then I can do. Some of them [and one of the greatest Rabbies amongst them] have dated things in the first moneth, commonly called *March*; whom therefore the Ceremonial year seems to please best; though the vanity thereof appears from hence, *viz.* That this sacred year, and the several periods thereof, was no more to the dating of any thing with the *Jews*, then *Advent*, and the weeks or moneths following it, are with us; in as much as it was not by the sacred, but the civil year that they reckoned the payments of Tythes, the payment of Debts, the discharge of Contracts, their Jubilees, their Sabbatical year, and what not? I should think then, that if they dislike our account, which is reckoned from the time of the conception of our Saviour, announced by the Angel to the blessed Virgin, they then should reckon from the first moneth following the Nativity of Christ, *b. e.* *January*, the beginning whereof is the Christian and Julian Epoch. But such direction is the ready way to reach them to do the quite contrary, the design of Hereticks having ever been to gain glory by a singularity of knowledge; and of these in particular to speak something which they understand not themselves, rather then be understood by others.

SECT. 3.

THE Epistle to the Reader thus dated and subscribed by six men, all as yet in communion together, they begin their Treatise with a specious title, which they call *Sober endeavours to prevent innocent blood, and to stablish the Nation in the best of settlements.* But when

which fell upon the Hill of Sion.

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when their party ruled, wofull experience tells us, how cheap other mens blood was to them, and how far they desired the best of settlements, when they strove against all government but an arbitrary one. And among all Governments which they dislike, that of Kings seems chiefly to stick upon their stomacks, because *The Nations of the World with their KINGS* [not with their PROTECTORS and RUMPERS] are said to drink the wine of the fornication of that abominable HARLOT; where, by HARLOT they would have only the Pope understood, whereas its *Dominatio Romana*, the Government or Rule of [not the Pope, but the Emperours] of Rome, as *Hugo Grotius*, and Dr. *Hammond* have observed: and indeed the Emperours at that time, whereunto this relates, did *verum potiri*. If they will not trust *Hugo Grotius*, let them believe *Johannes Grossinus* of Geneva, upon the *Apocalypse*: the Anagram of whose name is (as himself makes it) *Sis organon Jesu*: who speaks, though not the same thing, yet enough to prove what I pretend to: for expounding the thirteenth, c. saith, that two things are signified by the seven heads: 1. The mountains whereon the Woman is set. 2. So many heads and sorts of Governments successively. The five first of those Governments, viz. the Kings, the Consuls, the Dictators, the Decemvirs, and the Tribunes, were abolished in the time of St. *John*; the sixth, viz. the Emperours, was then in vigour, and the seventh, viz. the Popes, was not as yet, being not made Sovereign at Rome: for St. *John* sayes, chap. 17. v. 10. That the one was, and the other was not yet come. The ten horns, sayes he, are ten Provinces depending on the Empire of Rome, that is to say, the more principal, viz. 1. Italy, 2. Spaine, 3. The Gauls, 4. Almain, 5. Hungary and Bulgaria, 6. Greece, 7. Asia minor, called at this day Natolia, 8. Syria and Assyria, 9. Egypt, 10. Affrica: and chap. 13. v. 18. The number of the beast is the number of a man: That is, sayes he, a number wherewith men serve themselves ordinarily. Now St. *John* writes to the Greek Churches, and in the Greek Language: But the Greeks (as also the Hebrews) are wont in numeration to serve themselves of Letters of the Alphabet.

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This number then stands thus,

A	30	3	200
a	1	4	6
2	300	D	40
3	5	7	10
4	10	8	10
5	50	9	400
6	70		666
7	200		
	666		

Hereunto it is objected, that (*Latino*) is not written with (*rr*) but with a single (*i*) whereunto he answers, that this is a childish Objection, in as much as it is notoriously known, that the Greeks do often write the (*i*) Latin, by (*ei*) and that the Latins themselves pronounced (*i*) by (*ei*) the which pronunciation (sayes he, and that truly) is common and ordinary among the English at this day. It is true, that some among us do affect to pronounce (*i*) everywhere, as Forreigners do, without any regard whether it be long or short, *It supra communem hominum sortem sapere videantur*: but for mine own part, in forreign places, and among Forreigners, I have pronounced it as they do; not that it is better in itself, but that I might be the better understood by them: as *Generation*, in *France*, I would pronounce *Generat[i]on*, in *Germany* *generatio*; *Regem*, in *France*, *Rejeun*, in *Germany* *Reyem*, and so of a number of other words. But to return from my digression, this being enough to prove the Harlot to be a Latin and of *Rome*, but not to be the Pope only.

To take it in their own sense, they would have our King to be one of those Kings; but they confute themselves by their own words following, wherein they say, that *this Harlot sitteth upon peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues, and by her sorceries deceives all nations &c.* for how does this Harlot sit upon our King and people, when we abjure all preeminences upon earth above the King, and the King acknowledges no Superiour but God? The Deceiver mentioned *2 Thes. 2.* they seem to make all one with this Harlot: But Dr. *Hammond* will have thereby *Simon Magus* to be understood. This *Simon Magus* was the Ring-leader of the *Gnosticks*,

Sicks, he sat in the Temple of God, called God by the Emperour *Claudius*, who caused a Statue to be erected by *Tiber*, between the two Bridges, with this Inscription, *Simoni Deo sancto*, to *Simon* the holy God; and he had all rites of divine worship performed to him by the *Samaritans*. Yea, those that hold the Popes only to be Antichrist, are driven to say, That they are so, as far only as they work by signs and lying wonders in the vertue and power of *Simon Magnus*; and if they will have a dominion and rule joyned to it, then it must be so far forth as they in their actions resemble that *Dominatio Romana*, or Roman Rule and Domination. And this is called Harlot, a female, for *Dominatio*, *virtus* and *potentia* are *Feminines*: And it is observable, that the *Caliphs* or *Saracenicall* Popes [who vested themselves in all power spiritual and temporal] are of the Feminine Gender. Whose power, (as are and were most of the Eastern Governments) was Tyrannical, set up by *Mahomet*, who compiled his divellish doctrine, beginning his Empire about the same time that *Boniface* the third assumed his Antichristian Title beginning his Empire, there being but eleven years between them. Tyrannical Government and Governours are as Birds of prey; amongst which sort of Birds the female is ever the largest, boldest, and most morose: Insomuch that a cast of Sacres once set upon an Eagle, and having buffetted and wearied him a good, made him descend to the earth by the force of their blows: The Falconer proud hereof, bragged of it before Him of the *Ottomans*, who took *Constantinople*, who caused their necks to be wrung off, for entering upon their King: Which may very fitly be applied to the men of this Generation, who may justly be called Sacres [*Quasi quodvis Sacrum aucupantes, imo Sacram Majestatem debellantes*], who not contented to prey upon the persons and estates of other of their fellow Subjects, seize upon Majesty it self, accounting themselves the only (*Sacri*) Saints which ought to possess the Earth upon the account of Grace, as the Pope and his party does in *ordine ad spiritualia*; both of them fitly resembling the madness of *Thrasillus* (or, as some say, *Thrasimene*) the *Athenian*, who made account that all the ships which came into the Haven were his own, and would be very angry with those that went about to reclaim him from so sweet an error: These are like Mariners that sail from the same Port contrary wayes in the world to make Proselytes, but

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meet together in the *Amipodes*. The Popes pretend to *Sandilas* when in many things it is *mera fatuitas*, as his Holiness was sometimes stiled by the Emperour in *Goldastus*: so the men of this generation pretend to Holiness, when as the Devil sends them strong delusions to believe a lye: and 'twere happy for some of them, did they all but believe it, who are as like their fathers, *Stork*, *Stubner*, and *Muntzer*, as one egg is like another. This *Nicholas Stork*, and *Mark Stubner* born in *Germany*, did like *Simon Magus*, endeavour by divers artifices to gain upon the unwary multitude. This, by learning and a certain *acumen* in expounding of Scriptures, the other ignorant of letters, by popular eloquence, *Enthusiasms*, and some of secret conference with God. Both these, with their great pomp and cunning, no man knows what became of. Nevertheless the third of them, *viz. Muntzer*, failed not to make the highest improvement of the fruit of this new Gospel, imprinted in the minds of the people by *Stubner* and *Stork*. The *Fanaticks* took occasion of dividing themselves into parts, and of renting the Church from *Luther's* book of Christian Liberty, first set forth in 1520. Wherein they reading that a Christian man was Lord of all things, and subject to no man, these words were wrested to a wrong sense by men impatient of their own and others quiet: and thereupon first in private and obscure Cottages, next in open and eminent places, the cruel government of Kings, their pillaging of their Subjects was objected in the presence of the People. Liberty acquired to all under the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, was boasted of: complaints were made not onely of the tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, but of smaller matters tolerated by the first reformers of the Church. And by this means the two pillars of publick order were weakened, *viz. the dignity of the Magistracy*, and the reverence and respect of the ministry, and the authority of both. Hereupon thoughts were had, and endeavours used for the setting up of a New and more perfect Church, governed by a new kinde of Policy, and of initiating it's Disciples by a new Baptism. And least that the respect had to their former Baptism should hinder it, they declaimed against Infant-Baptism as vain and unlawful, as being given to such as were not capable, pretending that this Sacrament was not to be administered to any but men of full age, and such as were at their own disposal. And that this upstart Church might take the deeper root, these new

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Doctors pretended a practice of godlinesse in themselves, and endeavoured to inculcate the same into others. Hence the ordinary themes of their private and publick meetings were, that sin was to be had in detestation, the flesh to be kept under, and the Spirit stirred up duties of charity to be practised, the Crosse of our Lord to be born, fastings were often to be held, mean garments and moderate diet to be used, the dresse of the whole body to be composed rather unto neglect then elegancy, and that few words were to be used. It is a wonder to see how far by this juggling the common enemy of mankinde transforming himself into an angel of light, promoted his own kingdom, and how obnoxious these new Gospellers rendred even good men by this feigned scheme and form of godlinesse.

These new Doctors, viz. *Munizer* and his companions, little moved by the exhortations or investives of *Luther*, or the threatnings of the civil Magistrate, tumult the more for them, complaining that *Luther* and others ~~impudently~~ favoured of nought but carnal things, saying, that they had onely broken off some boughs of *Antichristianism*, leaving the tree and root entire; which, as it ought, they would have to be cut up. And when they found no shelter for their errors in the word of God, they fly to new arts of defending themselves and their errors; they brag of *Enthusiasms* and secret inspirations, inculcating into the people, that man was to live by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God, and that therefore we are not to search after wisdom in books onely, and writings, but that we should give diligence according to the precept of the Apostle, that all prophecy. Hence every *Fishmonger* almost brag'd of the spirit, feigned revelations, invented *Enthusiasms*, after the example of *Stork* and *Munizer*, opened the pulpits to Coblers and Cummin sellers, and whatsoever the spirit of error dictated to any of them, they obtruded upon others for the word of God, though besides or against the written Word. A wide gap being thus opened to *Enthusiasms*, any opinions were obtruded upon the ignorant and itching-ear'd people, as namely that no Oaths were obligatory under the Gospel, they every where preached sedition, and the seditious became armed against their Princes, insomuch that the most flourishing Provinces were hereby destroyed, and died in blood. *Munizer* he must be their *Gideon*, who bore this

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inscription in his Banners, namely, *Thomas Muntzer and the sword of Gideon*. These things and many more may be read in *Spanhemius de Origine progressu, sectis, nominibus, & dogmatibus Anabaptistarum*, and in the Commentaries of *Sleiden*. It does almost *superare Annalium fidem*, for a man would scarce believe what outrages have been committed in *Westphalia*, by *John of Leyden*, *Matthew*, and *Knipperdoling*: whereof this last was so hardened in his wickedness, that he endured three pinches of a red hot pair of tongs, before he implored the mercy of God; which amongst other things [whereof some are formerly related] are recorded by the said *Sleiden* in the fifth and tenth book of his Commentaries, from whence this Story was of purpose translated into *English*, anno 1642. as a warning piece to England, especially for London, against those things, which, by woful experience; we have found to have come to passe, and whether they would have proceeded [had not God in mercy turned the stream] might easily be foreseen. If this be not the spirit of *Anacrist*; [that pretends to be so much for Christ, and yet so much against him, as the very word *antichrist* implies] I know not what is. If this be the very poison, in a cup of gold [whereof these men speak] what is? If this be not to make men drunk with the wine of Abomination [which they talk of] what is? If they will have it to be understood without a figure of a material cup of gold, even this is as truly verified of the men of this generation as of any, inasmuch as this is called a cup of Abomination, in reference to some Abomination committed in, with, or upon some cups of gold; and particularly that of *Belshazzar's* impious feast, *Dan. 5*, when the golden vessels which were taken out of the Temple of the house of God, which was at *Hierusalem*, were brought, and the King and his Princes, his wives and his concubines drank in them. And have not the men of this generation done as much in spoiling Churches of their ornaments, of their Chalice, of their Treasures, and they, their wives and concubines have drunk in them to their own Gods, *viz.* their covetousness, their ambition and carnal pleasures, deriding their consecration as superstitious, and consequently accounting that God a Devil to whom they were set apart? The onely pretence they have for this their sacrilege is, That *Musick, Vestments, Bishops, Ceremonies and Church-sa-* have not any footstep in the *New Testament*; whereby they disco-

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ver themselves to be the most rigid sort of the *Anabaptists*: As do these men, so did the *Severians* and *Cerdonians*, as St. *Austin de Haresibus ad quod vult Deum*, testifies. I must therefore encounter them within Lists of their own setting, I mean the new Testament, or not at all.

Secl. 4.

First then for Musick: Where do they find it forbidden in the new Testament? Nay, are we not exhorted to sing in the new Testament? *viz.* James 5. 13. Did not the Disciples of Christ sing an Hymn or Psalm after the receiving of the Sacrament? *Mat.* 26. 30 and *Mark* 14. 26. Does not St. *Paul* exhort his *Ephesians* to speak unto themselves in Psalms, and Hymns, and spiritual Songs, singing and making melody in their hearts unto God? *Ephes.* 5. 19. And does not the same Apostle advise his *Colossians* to teach and admonish one another in Psalms, and Hymns? &c. *Colos.* 3. 16. And whether these Psalms, and Hymns, and spiritual Songs be different, as *Grotius* notes, or the same things, as others contend, they cannot be sung without musick; and this speaking, teaching, and admonition, which are the subjects of these Psalms, and Hymns, and spiritual Songs, are an evidence that we may, nay [if the Apostles exhortation be of any force with us] we must sing out all things that tend to edification at times convenient. The whole Book of the Psalms is a confutation of the Adversaries to this truth, in as much as it being the very pith and marrow of the whole Bible, contains doctrine, admonition, blessing, cursing, prophecy, history, prayer, holy enquiries, all wayes of edification and consolation: yet these were not only appointed to be sung, but were adapted to Organs, Virginals, Viols, and other sorts of Artificial Instruments, both (*αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁργανοὶ αὐτῶν*) stringed and wind, *Psal.* 4. and *Psal.* 5. in titulis.

But to improve their Objection for them, Where do we find Organs and Chromatick Musick to be any more than types and shadows of things to come?

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Whereunto I answer, That it cannot be proved by any man that Organs and Chromatick Musick are any more types and shadows of things to come under the Gospel, then other vocal Musick is; or give, nor grant, that they had been ceremonial, they may nevertheless now be used in another acceptation, *viz.* as helps of lifting up of our hearts unto God, the better fitting them for hearing and divine meditation: Neither did God, sayes *Calvin* upon the 150. *Psalm*, without cause heretofore under the Law, require the multiplicity of Musick, that he might draw the minds of his people from vain and wicked delights [whereunto men are too much addicted] to a holy and advantageous gladness; and yet all this was too little, which gave occasion to the Prophet, *Amos* 6. 5. to say, *Woe be unto those that sing to the sound of the vial, and invent instruments of musick like David.* Not that *David* was the first inventor of those Instruments [for it was *Jubal* the son of *Lamech*, *Gen.* 4.] but that they studied all incitements to luxury, defending their fault by the example of *David*: as if *David* had used Musical Instruments as provocations to luxury, and not as incitements to piety. Who then can deny, that it is lawful for us to use the same sorts of Musick, since the use thereof is directed to the same ends, and those not typical but moral? Under the Law there was a double use of killing of Beasts, the one as a sacrifice, the other as a sustenance: the taking of it away as a sacrifice, does not abolish the use thereof as a sustenance. The like may be said of any Musick [giving, not granting it to have been ceremonial and typical] that though it might be then typical of things to come, yet the use of it at present is tropical, *b. e.* for the rectifying of disorders, and for the raising up of our hearts to a holy and heavenly exultation, and drawing our minds from prophane and idle songs, in use at meretricious meetings.

Those that deny the use of musical Instruments under the New Testament, will have them nevertheless to be types of praise: by which nice distinction they are driven to confess, that they are something that is not ceremonial. Their deceit they would have lye under the ambiguity of the word Type: For 1. it is taken for a material print or impression, made by nails or otherwise, as *John* 20. 21. and such types they cannot be. 2. For the sum of an Epistle, or the like, as *Mat.* 23. 25. and such they cannot be.

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3. For a shadow or adumbration of a thing or person to come; and this by their own confession, or rather affirmation, they are not; for this were to make them ceremonies, which they will have to be contradistinguished from types. 4. For a form of doctrine, *Rom. 6.* but Organs, &c. and Voices are not forms of doctrine. 5. For an Image or Statue, *Acts 7. 43.* and this they cannot be neither, these being the work of Painters and Engravers. 6. For examples to be feared, *1 Cor. 10. 6.* but these they cannot be, there being no judgement in all the Scripture inflicted upon any that used singing or musical Instruments, no, nor threatened against them, unless such as abused them to luxury. 7. For a samplar to be followed, *Phil. 3. 17.* and as it were a copy given to be taken out by others. And such Types they are, (being proposed to us to be imitated under the Gospel) and no other, as has been proved by us, and confessed by themselves.

Sect. 5.

AS for Vestments, the same may be said of these as of Musick. That though under the Law they were typical of things to come under the Gospel, yet under the New Testament they are not so, but meer distinctions of persons serving, and of services to be performed; which we learn not from the Law of *Moses* alone, but from that of Nature too. The Sacrificers among the Heathen had their *Insulas*, h. e. *Sacerdotes vittas*. The *Druides* performed no sacred services without the leaves of Oak; and not only the Germans, but the Greeks, adorned their Altars with green leaves of Oak. In the Rites performed to *Ceres*, they were crowned with Oak; in those to *Apollo* with Bayes; in those to *Heracles* with Poplar; in those to *Bacchus* with Myrtle. The Victims and Vessels were likewise crowned: *Sched. de Div. Germ. c. 1.* In all which was a decency intended, agreeable to the work they were about. It is very obvious how full the New Testament is of declamations against the abominable practices of the Heathen: yet let these men tell me where in all the Epistles of the Apostles these, or the like Ceremonies were reprehended? I know some would have me say, as *Pliny* does, namely, that the *Druides* sacrificed in white

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garments, that they might thence infer our Surplices to be a Ceremony derived from Heathens, and abused to superstition: And was not the Oak abused by the *Druides* to superstition, being had in so great veneration among them? And yet our late Reformers gave order, [which was universally observed accordingly] for the Acorn, the fruit of the Oak, to be set upon the top of their Maces and Crowns, and that instead of the Cross, which had never been abused by the Heathen, who had it in detestation, as a figure most unlike that which is best pleasing to him they worshipped, *h. e.* the Devil. Which thing so done by them was nevertheless of happy presage to us, *viz.* That the tree which bore such fruit should [like that, in the Plains of *Manre*] serve for the shelter of our earthly Angel, King *Charles*, from the heat and fury of Rebellion, which was then in the very Noon, until the Cross resumed its place again upon the top of his Crown. So unlucky are contentious spirits many times, that they confute themselves by going about to condemn others? Oh but these men accounting themselves the only Saints and Servants of the most high God, any thing they wear or do must be sanctified to them: For *to the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure.* And if so, then they must prove, that our Church consisteth of unbelievers; that it teaches and practises the uncleanness and other abominations of the Heathen, so often noted by the Apostles; yea our very worship of God to be unclean and abominable, before they can conclude our Ceremonies to be unclean and unlawful. But whilst we maintain the worship of the true God, and give up our selves to be ordered by his Laws, we are pure, and consequently to us all things are pure, *Tit. 1. 15.* a thing which cannot be said of them, whilst they would have any error in doctrine or worship, yea blasphemy itself to passe unpunished, which is the whole drift of this their *Sions grains*. Wherefore *desinant maledicere, malefacta ne noscant sua.* Let them look into themselves, and their own practises, and they will find little reason to think themselves in Heaven, much less to pull up the ladder after them, as if none were worthy to follow. *St. Paul* pleads not for this decency only, but for order too, *1 Cor. 14.* which doubtless was used also among these Sacrificers. And therefore, as well for the expediency of the thing in it self, as the avoiding of the imputation of rudeness and confusion, wherewith the Grecians here were

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were apt to load them : the Apostle concludes the Chapter with this Canon, *Let all things be done decently, and in order* ; since therefore they can prove nothing but decency, order, and usefulness in such ceremonies as we use, what they say against them must go for nothing, and prevail as little with us, as a *Rationale* would with them. Which should I produce whereby to give an account of particularities, it would not make me justly liable to the *dictum* of *Beza* [in his Epistle to the Prince of Conde, put before his Translation of the New Testament] cast upon those, who as he saies, *collabentibus ædium fundamentis de instaurando fastigio laborant.*

Self. 6.

AS for Bishops, there are some we read of in the Scripture, who had the appellation to be called Bishops, but were not distinguished into a superiour order above others. Others were both called so, and distinguished into an order superiour unto others; and these are the Bishops here meant by us. Such were *Timothy* and *Titus*, as we learn from the several Epistles written unto them by *St. Paul*. Such were the seven Angels of the seven Churches of *Asia* in the *Revelation*, in the judgement of *Dr. Reynolds* in his conference with *Hart*, in the end of the third, and the beginning of the fifth Division: and in the judgement of the Archbishop of *Armagh*, of the Original of Bishops and Metropolitans, both printed together. Those who by these Angels would have the Churches to be meant, do manifestly contradict the Scripture. For, saies Christ there, *the Candlesticks are the Churches, and the stars are the seven Angels of the Churches*. I wonder therefore, saies *Grotius*, what spirit of contradiction carries men away, that they dare confound things which the Spirit of God so manifestly distinguisheth. *de Imp. sum. not. circa sacra, c. II.* And I more wonder that these men should say that there is *not one word for them in the New Testament, or that they should be set up by us as Antitypes of the high Priests under the Law*. No, Christ is onely that. Neverthelesse in regard of the distinction, which was an Ecclesiastical thing among the *Jewes*; I say that the Bishops do resemble the High Priests, and the inferiour Clergy the

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other Priests. For there were in this respect many High Priests at once, of whom we read many to have been assembled together, *Mark* 14. 1. every one of which was *summus sacerdos istius Classis*, the High, or chief Priest of that Rank. These ranks had their several courses: & *Zachary* was of one of these courses, *viz.* of that of *Abia*, *Luc.* 1. 5. not all these, but one only was typical, shadowing forth Jesus Christ unto them. And even in this High Priest there was something besides the representation, as is plain by *St. Paul*, who yielded his obedience to the High Priest as governour of the people, *Acts* 23. 5. and that after the Type was expired, which had been unlawfull, had there not been somewhat remaining in him besides the figure. *Eleazar* in *Aaron's* life-time was *Princeps Principum*; or *Prælati Prælatorum*, *Num.* 3. 32. and yet not reputed a Type of Christ; and *2 Chron.* 35. 8. we read of three at once, one only whereof was the High Priest which was the Type of Christ, the rest were not so; yet by reason of their dignity paramount to others, might resemble Archbishops themselves. And the other forementioned High Priests in regard of the place they held above the rest of their Classe, are in a sort resembled by our Bishops. And that this may not seem strange to any, 'tis a matter obvious to our observation that scarcely any Ordinance or Order under the New Testament, can be named, which is not derived from others under the Old, by some kind of resemblance intended between them. Imposition of hands by the Apostles was taken up in imitation of that practised under the Old Testament for the designation of successors; as *Moses* used it towards *Josuah*, *Num.* 27. 18, 20. That the whole frame of Church Government answers to the like order and distinction of persons and offices in the Old Testament is evidenced by the learned Bishop of *Winton* in a scheme to that purpose thus drawn, *viz.*

Aaron

Aaron] should be resembled by	Christ.
Eleazar		Archbishops.
Princes of		Bishops.
Priests		Presbyters.
Princes of		Archdeacons.
Levites		Deacons.
Nethinims		Clerks and Sextons.

And hereunto he is led by the opinion of the ancient fathers, who seem to be of the same mind, viz. that the same form should serve both: so is St. Cyprian, so St. Hierome, St. Leo and Rabanus de vita clericor. The Government of the Church of the Old Testament, saies the Archbishop of Armagh, was committed to Priests and Levites, unto whom the ministers of the New Testament do now succeed in like sort as our Lords day hath done unto their Sabbath. So he, in his Original of Episcopacy: and if it were reasonable for Christians to take the *Jewes* for their pattern in drawing their scheme of Church government; much more is it for modern Christians to follow the ancient, a thing which our Church has done in her reformation, which has retained all things of ancient usage in the Church of Rome, lest men should be scandalized at us, whilst we seemed to set up a new Religion, instead of reforming the Old. The very Lords Prayer hath much of conformity, not only to the forms used by the *Jewes*, as others have observed; but also as it seems to me, to the very design of the sacrifices of the Law, which are all reducible to three kinds. The first was the whole burnt-offering to God, as absolute Lord of Heaven & Earth, and as one to whom belongeth honour from us, should he never bestow any special favour upon us. The second was the peace-offering, whereby to obtain at his gracious hands all those blessings and the degrees thereof, whereof men stand in need, whether publick or private, as also to expresse a thankfulness for all blessings, and for all those gracious returns he makes to the prayers of his people from time to time, or at any time. The third was the sin-offering for the expiation of all or any transgressions of his holy and divine commandments, and for

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health of soul. In conformity whereunto our Saviour hath in that perfect and absolute form taught us to offer, by him, a spiritual holocaust to the honour of his name, who inhabits eternity, in these words, *Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.* Secondly a spiritual peace-offering for the advancement of his Kingdom in us, and the adimplation of his will by us, as also for a supply of all outward necessities in these words, *Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven, Give us this day our daily bread.* Thirdly, a spiritual sin-offering for the forgiveness of sins past, and for prevention of sin for the time to come, in these words, *And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.* And these not without a doxology, as a spiritual Libamen or mear-offering, [without which no burnt-offering was to be made under the Law] in these words; *For thine is the Kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.* And so having not only proved the order and distinctions of *Ecclesiasticks* under the New Testament, but also the first Liturgy [so the Lords Prayer is proved to be by *Cassander in Liturgicus ex Dionysio*, and stands undeniably true] to be instituted in resemblance of the like under the Old Testament, I come now to prove the jurisdiction that they have one over another, and over the rest of the Church: wherein two things are to be considered in relation to our Bishops, viz. 1. Their power. 2. The distribution of this power. As for the first. Their power is so connatural, that the chief Judge in *Areopagus* was a Priest, hence *Cohen* in *Hebrew* was a common name to Magistrates and to Priests, *Gen. 41. 45. Potipherah was Priest. b. 1. Prince of On.* The *Druides* among the *Galls* were of the noblest stock of kindred: they were so in *Epirus* and *Cappadocia*, it was usual as well among the *Grecians* as *Romans* for Kings to be Priests, and as *Schedus de Dis Germ.* notes out of *Festusella*, the Priest was never made a distinct person from the civil Magistrate till the expulsion of Kings out of *Rome*: and that this power so challenged by the voice of Nature in the Heathen themselves, is warranted by the Scriptures of the New Testament, I shall have occasion to shew anon, in answer to their objections against it. Mean while I shall prove the second thing considerable, viz. The distribution of their power. And this is distributed according to the distribution of the civil

civil power, the Bishop residing in the City or chief place, all the Clergy of inferior places within his Diocese are subject to him as he is to the Archbishop: which is answerable to what the Apostles at first did practise in the very beginning of Christianity, and was followed by after times; as is observed by Dr. Hammond out of *Acts* 14. and 15. c. and made good against the Animadversions on the Dissertations touching Ignatius's Epistles; c. 7. *sects* 6. His words are these. According to the image of the civil government among the Jews, and the like again in their Temple [forementioned] the Apostles appeared to have disposed of Churches every where, and in all their plantations so have constituted a subordination and dependance of the Churches in the inferior cities, to those in the chief or metropolises. An example of this we have in the story of the *Acts*, concerning Syria and Cilicia, and the several Cities thereof, in relation to Antioch the Metropolis. For when the Question, *Acts* 15. 2. was referred and brought to Jerusalem from the Church peculiarly of Antioch, c. 14. 26. and 15. 3. and the Decree of the Council return'd to them by whom the Question was proposed, *h. c.* to the Church at Antioch, *ver.* 22. yet in the Epistle wherein the Decree was contain'd, we find the Brethren through Syria and Cilicia, *i. e.* all the Christians of that Province to be express'd and joyned with those of Antioch, *ver.* 23. And after when that Decretal Epistle was deliver'd to the Church of Antioch, *ver.* 30. Paul and Silas went over Syria and Cilicia, *ver.* 41. and 42. and as they went, they deliver'd to every City the Decrees of the Council, c. 16. v. 4. which is an evidence that the churches of those cities related either immediately to Antioch; or, as Antioch it self did, to Jerusalem, and were in subordination to it as to the principal Metropolis of so wide a Province, according to that of *Philo*, that Jerusalem was in his time, the Metropolis, not of Judea alone, but of many other regions, in respect of the Colonies, which it sent out of the Jews that dwelt in them, naming Syria and Cilicia and divers others, thus for the learned Doctor.

The same is proved out of *Rev.* 1. 14. John to the seven Churches in Asia, where St. John directing his letters unto them thus indefinitely without any mention of their particular names, he cannot by common intendment be conceived to have understood any other thereby, but such as by some degree of eminency were distinguish-

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ble from all the rest of the churches that were in *Asia*, and in some sort did comprehend all the rest under them: for taking *Asia* here in the most strict sense, for the *Lydian*, or [as the Imperial constitutions call it] the *Proconsular Asia*: it is not to be imagined that after so long pains taken by the Apostles and their disciples therein there should be found no more then seven churches, especially since *St. Luke*, *Acts* 19. 10, 20. testifies that *all they which dwelt in Asia, heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks, so mightily grew the word of the Lord and prevailed.* And in particular among the Epistles of *Ignatius*, there is one directed to the church in *Trallis*, another to the church in *Magnesia*: and both these were subject to the Metropolitane of *Ephesus*. See the Archbishop of *Armagh*, as above quoted. And for these reasons, as also for their eminence in learning and wisdom, have all Christian Kings of this Realm ever consulted with them, in the establishment of Laws. We read in *Lambert's apostolus*, and *Mr. Selden's Titles of honour*, That the Laws of *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*, were made by the perswasion and appointment of his father *Cenredus*, and of *Hleda* and *Erkenwald*, Bishops, with Senatours, Elders and wise men of the people, in a frequent assembly of the servants of God; which was between the years 712. and 727. The Laws of *Alured* the first founder of this Monarchy, were made by his authority, as those of *Ina* had been by his; but *ex consilio sapientum* by the advice of the wise, which must include the Bishops. 1. Because his Laws were grounded on *Moses* his Laws. 2. Because nor these, nor those of *Ina* did reach to life, except in case of Treason against King or Master. 3. Because he hereby allotted much of the Kingdom to *Guthurn*, on condition of *Guthurn's* becoming Christian. All which are things well becoming the judgement of Bishops, and are (especially the first) arguments sufficient to convince some of Error that contend our Laws to have had their Original out of the twelve Tables. This was anno 871. about 820. years since. The Laws of *Ethelstan*, anno 924. were made by the prudent counsel of *Vilhelmus* Archbishop, and the rest of the Bishops, &c. wherein an estimate was made of all orders of men that then were, or rather a declaration of the Common Law in that point. As first, The King was esteemed at 30000. *Thrymsa's*, i.e. so many times three shillings; an Archbishop at 15000. *Thrymsa's*; a Bishop or Senatour at 8000. *Thrymsa's*;

General of an army at 4000. one initiated in holy orders; or a *Thamis* i. e. a Noble man at 2000, whereby it appears that an Archbishop was double to any subject of the Kingdom besides; and a Bishop equal to the greatest Lord in the Land; and every Priest as good as the best Noble man under the degree of a Senator; so far are any of these orders from arrogating, that they have lost much of that ancient honour, which belonged unto them by the Common Law of this Nation. King *Edmund* called together a frequent assembly of Ecclesiasticks and Laicks; where *Oda* and *Woolstan* Archbishop were present, with very many other Bishops, for the sanction of Laws. So did King *Eldred* anno 948. as *Ingulphus* testifies. So *Edgar* and *Cannus* established Laws by the advice of the wise. So did *William* the Conquerour with the concurrence of his Princes, whereof the Archbishops must be a part: since which time no Acts of Parliament are made without the Lords Spiritual.

And that these things were allowed to the Priests under the Old Testament no man will deny, the proofs therein being so frequent & pregnant. But our adversaries here call for proofs out of the New, whereunto I have & shall answer hereafter in its due time & place, contenting my self at present with the Exposition of that one text of *Mat. 19. 28. Ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit upon the Throne of his Glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel.* This was spoken to the twelve Apostles, which were Clergy men, and the Predecessors of all Bishops; where note that the comma should be put immediately after *Me*; and in the regeneration referred to the Son of man sitting on the Throne of his glory, which was immediately after the descent of the holy Ghost, a time *αὐτὸ ἐξ ὧν*, and by way of eminence call'd the Regeneration, because then were the gifts of ministration and sanctification more abundantly poured forth then ever they had been before; the immediate end whereof was *Regeneration* or *Renovation*: Then did every Apostle besides his general commission, take upon him his particular Episcopacy; where he sat and judged, that is, governed the Church, signified here by the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, under which notion the Jewish Church had been comprehended. And if it were understood of their being assessors to Christ in the last judgement, surely then I might use the argument of *St. Paul*, which concludes a *fortiori*, 1 *Cor. 6. 3. Know*

ye not that we shall judge the Angels? how much more things that pertain to this life? where, under the pronoun *we*, he includes himself and all the Apostles; In whose absence he would have them rather end all differences (which at any time might happen) by compromise, then appeal to Heathenish tribunals, from whence they were like to reap nothing but scandal to Religion, and injustice to themselves, by reason of the corruption of the Courts, according to that of the Epigrammatist *ad Sextum*.

*Et Judex petit, & petit Patronus;
Solvat, censeo, Sexte, Creditori.*

The Judge does ask a *bribe*, thy Advocate a *fee*:
Pay then thy Creditour, better pay *one* than *threes*.

And so having done with Bishops, come we now to Churches.

SECT. 7.

IT is very true, that where two or three are gathered together in the name of Christ, there is he in the midst of them: which was a singular consolation to the Disciples of Christ, that though they were driven to corners and deserts, and were fain to wander in desolate places, being hated by all men for Christs sake, yet how does this forbid publick meetings, and at publick places, when time and opportunity presents it self? The people of God may pray in [*Cryptis*] caves, in time of persecution, therefore they must do so in time of freedom, when all the world is become Christians, is there any Logick in this? no, no more then would be in this kind of argument. *For the present necessity it is not good for a man to touch a woman.* Therefore when the necessity is over no man may marry. This follows not, but the clear contrary rather. And to make further proof hereof by Scripture of the New Testament, it is obvious to our observation that the people of God had not only their *Synedrins* and National Conventions, but other houses of prayer erected, and called Synagogues, who being converted to the faith by the



the preaching of the Apostles, the Synagogues were made particular Churches: for *Gal. 1. 13.* Saint Paul testifies of himself, that he persecuted the Church of God. Now where was this Church of God? it was in Synagogues, *Act. 22. 19.* I imprisoned, saies he, and beat in every Synagogue them that believed on thee: from whence I observe two things, 1. That the example of Christians here, does teach us that its lawfull to serve God in Temples made with hands, though he be not, nor ever was confined to them. 2. That it is as lawfull that this be done, though in places abused to false doctrine and superstition, as these Synagogues, yea their places of National convention were, and that by Pharisees, Sadduces, and other Sects, yea generally by all the Jews before their conversion to the faith. And what is testified here, of Jewish *Synedria's* and Synagogues, is true of Heathen temples, namely, that it is lawfull to dedicate them to Gods worship, *Act. 17.* when St. Paul found at Athens, an altar dedicated to the unknown God, he went not about to preach down their altar, but to preach up Jesus and the resurrection upon it, least he should seem to be a setter forth of strange Gods, as indeed he did to some nevertheless. Nay, a third thing may be hence observed, namely, that as these Synagogues were subordinate to the *Synedria's* or National Assemblies; it follows that divers parochials may be subordinate to the *Synedrion* of the Cathedral, and the Cathedral to a Provincial or National Convention. And thus much for the lawfulness of Churches. Now for the convenience of them. They are convenient, 1. for their capacity; the Cathedrals being large enough to contain the Bishop with the Dean and Chapter, the standing *Synede* of the Diocess, besides the confluence of the whole City and Diocess upon all occasions. The parochial Churches are lesser, yet of capacity enough to contain a parish. 2. they are convenient for their situation, 1. in respect of the Diocess [if Cathedrals] they being in some eminent place thereof, 2. in respect of the parish [if parochials] they being as near as may be to the middle thereof, 3. in respect of the whole world, in as much as they look towards the East, which the ancient Christians turned to in their adoration, as is testified by *Tertullian in Apolog. c. 16.* and by *Dionysius the Areop. in celest. Hierarchia, c. 11.* quite contrary to the Temple of Hierusalem, whose Holy of Holies or upper end was Westward. Indeed the Church

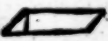
built by Cardinal *Richelieu*, at *Richelieu*, a town of his own building too, hath its Choir *Westward*; and its entrance in at the *East* end thereof, which was so appointed by him, I suppose, least otherwise it might spoil the fashion of his town, a respect being had unto the model according to which it was to be built, and not out of an opinion of the indifferency of situation; for albeit he were contented to turn his face sometimes *Westward* in his adoration when living; yet being dead he looks *Eastward* in the Chappel of his own building in the Colledge of *Sorbon* where he lyes buried. What was done by the said Church at *Richelieu*, was intended by that in *Covent-Garden*, but it was not permitted to be consecrated till the said design was altered, which was done *Bonis avibus* too; for *Covent-garden* continues a flourishing part of *London* suburbs, whereas *Richelieu* hath nothing in it of the aim of the said Founder, [which was to make it a University for the study and teaching of Philosophy in the *French* tongue] but is like a proud woman, that hangs all upon her back at once; for so is this empty of Students and riches, having nothing left to commend it besides the *superba* name, set out with gay and uniform buildings, as if every house there were as a *Rejection* of the Cardinals magnifick Palace that stands by and would in time grow emulous of their mother tree, out of whose root they sprang. But to return, 4. Our Churches are convenient for situation in respect of their parts within themselves, having an upper end and a lower; this for the font to initiate and give first entrance into the Church by Baptism; that, for the holy Table which is for a spiritual repast to [*adults*] persons of years, the middle for the *Catechumens* to stand between, 5. in respect of the fabrick of the whole, they being like *navis inversa*, ships whose Keel is towards heaven. They have also *ales* or wings in many places, which are nothing else but continuations of Vestries, built in resemblance to Cabins in Ships, and were therefore called *navephora*, *b. e.* not as a *pyxis* to keep the Host in, as the *Pontificians* contend for, but because they were as Cabins for the Masters of the ships to lodge in, derived from *ναῦς*, or *ναῦς* *thalamus*, and *φορεῖν* to bear, as Bishop *Morton* learnedly observes against them. Some Cathedrals are built with a single Cross, representing that whereon our Saviour was crucified [for since *Constantine's* IN HOC VINCES, Churches have not only been


been so built in some places, but the sails of ships have ever been furled up in manner of a Crucifix] some are built with a double Crosse, the uppermost representing that whereon the title was written, viz. *I N R I* They had no way more suitable of enlarging such fabricks, where beauty or necessity required it. I might justifie the building of Churches in such figures as are most proper from that place of *Ezekiel 9. 4.* Go through the midst of the City, through the midst of Hierusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of them that sigh, &c. and *vers. 6.* it is said, slay utterly old and young, both maid and little children and women; but come not near any man upon whom is the mark, and begin at my Sanctuary. This mark in the original is *Tau*, and so translated in the Interl. Bibles, and the vulgar Latine by those that were no boys (as * some would make them) or something less for skill in Hebrew Grammar. * *Viz. Dr.* Now this letter *Tau*, the last in the Hebrew Alphabet was written *Owen in b* in the old *Samaritan* character, like a crosse, as is witnessed by *St. Hierome* upon the place, and that it was so upon the ancient coines *παρρησια*, they do not deny; and it is so both in the Alphabet of coines, and in *l. 4. digres.* the Alphabet of *Azarim* exhibited by *Vitalpandus* upon *Ezekiel*: all that they can say is, that those coines are *mala mex*, and a kind of counterfeit things; 'tis true, that 1000. counterfeits of Jewish coines, and of Romans together, &c. too have been made, which many do buy and furnish their closets withall; all which may be called *mala merx*: But what is this to the genuine pieces, from whence these counterfeits were taken: I must therefore send them to find better arguments to prove their pretensions, then yet they have brought to light, mean while rest in this opinion, viz. that in case we build any consecrated Temple, or make any holy sign, as that in Baptism is, the fittest figure is that of the Crosse: This letter *Tau* is the first letter of *Torab*, b. e. the Law whereby God would save the observers of his Laws from the common destruction, which is a figure of those that shall be freed from the condemnation of the world, being first marked by Christ our high Priest, signified thereby a man clothed in linnen with a Writers Inkhorn by his side, v. 2. 'tis true, that in our translation it is only [set a mark] or as it is in the margin, mark a mark: but why may not this mark be a crosse rather then any other, having these significations in it? neither can any other, I am sure, no better be given to it; nor yet

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more natural: For, 1. It is a figure that is *prima cognitum* of all other, as consisting of the concourse of lines at right angles, which are the common measure of themselves and all other angles whatsoever; and let the Crosse be made never so irregularly, yet if the lines be streight, it will have four angles equal to four right ones. Secondly, contumous quantiry being *divisibilis in semper divisibilia*, this cannot be done but in *partes equales*, & these equal parts cannot be set out so well as by a Crosse, whether it be in *piana* or in *subo*, *sc.* in a plain *superficies*, or a *cubical* body, unto the first of which all *superficies*, unto the latter, all *solids* are to be reduced in measuration; as for example, in *oblong superficies* between the unequal sides.

 I find a mean proportional, this is the side of a square equal to the *superficies* given again in a triangular, between the *perpendicular*, and the half base: I find a mean proportional, this is the side of a square equal to the triangle given: 

The same rule serves for a *rhomboides* : Thirdly, 'tis no marvel that *Tau* should be originally a Crosse, when so many letters in the Hebrew Alphabet [I speak not of those that follow the caprice of Scribes, or founders of lies] have their genesis from

the parts of a Crosse,  *viz.* ח ס ל ה ה ר ב other letters

there be as י י י י which seems to be as so many chips cut off it by the glance of the tool that hewed them; and of these letters all others seem to be compounded, as is obvious to our observation; other reasons might be given for the natural apprehension of the Crosse, but these shall suffice here to infer the probability of that mark to be the sign of the Crosse, and the fitness of building of Churches after the manner of a Crosse; Which if they would have demolished, because built after the manner of a Crosse, they must pull down many Towns in *England*, which seem of design to be built after the manner of a Crosse, especially *Glocester*, whose figure stands thus,



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^a The Ailes gate, ^b the North gate, ^c the South gate, ^d the West gate, ^e the Colledge & St. *Maries* parish Church, ^f the Castle, ^g the middle row. The East West and South streets make up a compleat Crosse; the middle row ^g the Crucifix upon it, the Colledge, &c. ^e our Saviours mother and other Saints lamenting his condition, or rather their own; the Castle ^f the souldiers that brought to execution and derided him. And that these were the glory of this Nation, has been in effect confessed in the Pulpit by one of the eminentest Independents in the Nation, when he prayed God to preserve the *Universities*, the only remaining glory, as he said, of our Nation, the Cathedrals being then taken away: But what figure soever the Churches had been built in, they would have found matter of exception against them. Had they been round as those of the *Huguenots* are, then they had been circles to conjure by, a figure best pleasing to the Devil, as being most contrary to a Crosse: A Crosse then would have pleased them, which now they abhor as a matter of high superstition, but as the case stands, they seem to be pleased with Churches of the same figure as their Religion resembles. *b, c.* a meere *Parabola*. I come now from the conveniency to the necessity of these Churches in some regards; for albeit before their consecration they were in the power of those that gave them, to give or not to give them to those uses; yet since that they are thereby given to God, and such things God accepts for his own, it follows that *Quicumque alienaverit sacrilegus erit*. He will rob not only a society of men that live by and in them, but God also, as *Ananias* and *Saphira* did in another thing, but in the like case. But I have hinted from whence these exceptions sprang at first, *viz.* from *Stork*, *Stubner*, and *Muntzer*: And from the same beginning it is that their exceptions against learned men issues forth, when Coblers and Furriers are set up to preach in hog-houses, and nasty places. And those things before mentioned would never become a *stumbling block to the Gentiles*, as they pretend, as is evident by their crying up of their Goddess *Diana*, the magnificence of whose Temple allured the world to worship her; and had they had Temples dedicated to the true God of more magnificence then *Diana's* was of, they would have cried as loud as they did of *Diana*, that *Great is the God of Heaven*; whereby it is evident that such things may be outward motives of bringing men to the Church, and

so

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so of seeing and learning what is there taught and practised, which they would not have been allured to, by an assembly of men met together in a pigs-coat; nay it seems by the very argument of these men themselves, that had the Jews beheld as magnifick Temples under Christianity as they had in judaisme, they would have become Christians. But I shall believe neither the one, nor the other touching the Jews, till God takes away the vail drawn over their hearts. The wrath of God is not come on them for that, but for crucifying the *Lord of Glory*, and for imprecating his blood upon themselves and theirs.

Sect. 8.

But, say they, *The bare rejection of truth, and imbracing of error is not all the evil that the Nations generally are engaged in by the Church of Rome, but for to compleat and fill up the measure of their iniquities, like Nebuchadnezzar, nothing less must be inflicted on the servants of the most high God, that cannot bow down to the golden image of their inventions, then the fiery furnace of persecution, many times unto death it self.* Whereunto I answer, first, That this is as clear as the Sun shines to be a scandal upon the good Laws of the Land, as if they were like those of *Draco the Athenian*, of which it was said that they were written in blood, in as much as they punished every offence alike, without suiting the penalty to the quality of the crime. Indeed this would quickly leave no criminals or no men in the Commonwealth, in case all offenders were subject to the same punishment how various soever their offences were, and that punishment were death. But I shall take the pains to shew that this very thing which they here impute to us, is applicable to themselves. Thus then the Harlot in the *Revelation* is so called, because it's a counterfeit of the woman, in the twelfth chapter thereof, that is the Church which is there described to have the Moon under her feet. She is not then the true woman, but a counterfeit, an image only. Now an image may consist of different parts and matters as *Nebuchadnezzar* did, *Dan. 2.* and yet the same image still: so does this Harlot consist of several men of several Sects, of several principles, in several ages, and yet the same Harlot, the same

same Antichrist still, as long as the Devil works generally alike in them all, whereof the *Pope* makes one part, the *Anabaptist* another, other Sects [if this be not comprehensive of all] others, and all this is done by dreams, as *Nebuchadnezzar's* image was. And because men will not fall down and worship their dreams for truths, notwithstanding they comprehend not *Heterodoxisms* only, but horrid blasphemies against God and his Son Christ, and be destructive of the Ordinances of God, and witnesses of the *Revelation*, they are mad, they send forth excommunications, they preach and practice rebellion, they say they fight for God, when they fight against the King Gods Vicegerent, that they are the servants of the most high God, when it is plain that the Devil carries them captive at his will, that they would have Christ reign over them, when the Devil reigns in them, that they defend our liberties when they carry us captive, that they maintain our proprieties when they plunder us, that it's done in faith, when it's without charity, that it is to vindicate the liberty of Religion and freedom of the Gospel, when they make their own passion and interest the measure of it. Hereupon the beautiful feet of those that should be the messengers of peace, become swift to shed blood, the hands that have been accustomed to handle the holy Sacraments appear like *Ballona's* hands embrued in gore, the cloven tongues of the Spirit are turn'd into serpents tongues, *Trifidasque linguas*, (*Sen. in Medea*) & dividing themselves into three parts, their mouths that should dictate the oracles of God, are like the mouth of a Leviathan, *Job 41. 19.* whose breath kindleth coals, and a flame goes out of it; that hair that should be like that of the ancient of days, white as wool, to note the incorruption of truth, is speckled like snakes, ravel'd into philtres, and rowled into tresses like serpents. And could their seduced proselytes but see all this, they would want no Rhetorick to undeceive them: but this they have added to the very *'anaph'* of their imposture, *sc.* that the Devil appears in the mantle of *Samuel*, and I know not by what *Gyg's* ring they walk invisible, or else God hath suffered the eyes of the people to be blinded that they cannot see, or by the same just judgement, hardened their hearts, that they cannot perceive. But if these men be in the right, then let the Epistle of *Jude*, and the 2 of *Pet. c. 2.* be for ever, as some of them would have them, not canonical; for would they lay aside abstruse and obscure proph-

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phacies imployed with their presumptuous glosses upon them; which are written rather to exercise their humility, then cherish their presumption, and seriously apply those evident truths to their own practices, they would find every verse, like *Prometheus* his Eagle, feeding upon their inward parts, animated by that lying spirit as by fire stollen from heaven. And since these authours mention *France* and other places, what civil commotions have been caused there, in order to worship: I say that they arose from men of their generation. For I must remember them out of *Mr. Camden's Eliz.* That it is about seventy years since that Kingdom of *France* laboured of such a monster as this, which as an image consisted of several parties as of several materials, one affecting *Aristocracy*, another *Oligarchy*, another *Democracy*, another *Anarchy*, all disliking the present form *Monarchy*. Mean while the preachers easily snatching the people about by this common motion, became the trumpeters of sedition, till after the assassinate of their King, they began to disagree as much about their new Governours, as before they had done about their government. These men in *Munster* or *Amsterdam* might have passed for *Anabaptists*, and had they kept company with *Knipperdoling*, *John of Leyden*, *Munizet*, *Stork*, or any of that Rabble, they had proved so indeed, and what they would have been here, we all know, the Devil working alike in them all, though of different Religions. And about this time it was, that the calamities which have befallen this Kingdom were a brewing [as you may read in the *English Scottizing*, and *Scots Genevating for Discipline*, set forth by Archbishop *Bancroft*] which these Authours here falsely ascribe to the sending the *Scottish* Liturgy into *Scotland*. Suppose that, that had been the cause, I deny it to have been a just one; for let them tell me what warrant they have out of Scripture, or Orthodox Writer, of rebelling against their Sovereign under pretence of Religion, be it true or false. If so, where is their subject of passive obedience, they so much boast of? And if nothing can be a good ground of rebelling against the King, much less can it justify that which had no end but in the death of the King, and slavery of the people, whose liberty was pretended to be vindicated. And thus far they have but declaimed, which we having answered, as you have heard, let us examine their proofs, or Logical part which all depends upon this one Syllogism.

Scff.

IF any Magistrate under heaven, in the daies of the Gospel hath power to impose any thing in the worship and service of God, it is given him as he is a Magistrate only, or as a Christian so considered; But that no such power is given by God to any Magistrate appears.

For answer to the first part hereof; I say that he hath power as he is a Magistrate only: and this power is given him of God, in as much as Magistracy is an Ordinance of God. All powers of the world whatsoever are from him, even those of Tyrants themselves, though permissively only: Lawful powers are from him, as ordained by him. And as these are ordained by God, so hath he given them power in the worship and service of God. For 1. The very Heathens have given the first place to Religion, as knowing by Natures instinct that without Religion no policy of a Commonwealth can be happily instituted or administred. It is an axiom drawn out of the fourth book of *Plato de rep.* that *Religio est fundamentum reipublice*, & *potissima pars publici Magistratus*, & *vere arx atque propugnaculum constituenda reipublice*: without which all the parts of a Commonwealth, like the strings of an instrument, will be out of tune, τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἀπορροιαὶ τῶν ἰσχυρίων τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἀναγκαῖον, and therefore another axiom follows thereupon, that *non potest immutari status religionis sine maximarum legum immutatione*, & *propterea non est temere importanda in rempublicam nova religionis forma*: because it does dismember and disjoyn the Commonwealth. St. Paul disputing daily at *Athens* touching Religion, was brought unto *Areopagus* to be judged by that Court, *Act.* 17. 19. as upon whom the business of Religion was principally incumbent. *Esra* received the power and jurisdiction from *Artaxerxes* speedily to execute judgement upon all contumacious persons in the business of Religion, *Es.* 7. 14. whether unto death or banishment, or confiscation of goods, or imprisonment, *Es.* 7. 25, 26. So did *Cyrus* and *Darius* give permission to the *Jews* to re-edify the Temple; and to to sacrifice therein, adding money to defray the charges, *2 Ch.* 29. 15, and 30. 12. *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Dan.* 3. 29. commanded him to be hewed in pieces that should blaspheme the God of the Hebrews. Secondly, the Lawyers refer

Religion to those things which belong to the Law of Nations, in as much as by the guidance of Nature we know that there is a God, which is to be revered, & who knows not that to a Magistrate belongs, not only the administration of positive Laws, but of those also that belong to the Laws of Nature. Thirdly, if it be the duty of a father of a family to instruct his children in the true Religion, and to reduce them from their deviations from it; how much more doth it appertain to the Magistrate, who is the father of his Countrey, to take care of the religion of his subjects. Fourthly, This is requir'd of a Magistrate in Scripture, *Pf. 2. Kisse the Son*, and *serve the Lord in fear*, which consisteth not only in the adoration of the Son of God [for that is common with him to every true Christian] but also in the outward administration of his Kingdom. This therefore was the injunction laid upon the Kings of Israel to be observed when God should bring them into the Land he promised them, *viz.* when they sit upon the throne that they write them a copy of the Law in a book out of that which is before the Priests and Levites, *Deu. 17. 18.* And at the inauguration of *Jash* the book of the Law of God was given into his hands, *2 Ch. 23. 18.* And fifthly, The examples of holy Princes do teach us that Magistrates have the care of Religion committed to them, such were *Moses*, *Joshuah*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Asa*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Josiah*, *Ezekiah*, &c. And albeit these men will (what never any, but persons sprung from *Anabaptists* did) reject all examples and testimonies out of the Old Testament [unless it be to serve their own turn, [as I have formerly shewed them to have done in the date of their Epistle, the eighth day of the third month] yet this, I suppose, they will hardly deny, namely, that a father under the Gospel hath and ought to have a care of his children, in matters of Religion, their own practice witnesses as much, in that they instruct their children in their own principles, and keep them from Bap- tism and Steeple-houses [as they call the Churches] which they hold to be unlawfull, &c. Now if these things are given to a father of a family whose power cannot reach as far as a Kings, much more to a King or other Magistrate, whose jurisdiction is of a larger extent, and whereof a family is but an integral part. And the same comparison holds between a Master and a Magistrate, which is not only a father of his Countrey, but a master too: for in *Rome*, he

who

who was Dictatour and bare the power supream, was called the Master of the people: whence it is that *Cicero* calls *Cæsar* Master, and *Livie* witnesseth that the Dictatour was so added to the Consuls, that he might be their Moderatour and Master. If therefore it be lawfull for a Master of a family, school, or society, to be defensive and offensive in Cause of Religion under the Gospel, towards their children, scholars, and servants; how much more is it given to a Magistrate towards his subjects, who bears the same relation to a Master of a family, school, or society, as the whole does to a part.

But, say they, if Magistrates as such have such an authority, then all Magistrates in all Nations, have the same power; Then if we lived in Turkey, we must receive the Alcoran and be worshippers of Mahomet; if in Spain, be Papists, as in Hen. 8. his daies, sometimes Protestants, as in Edw. 6. his daies, &c.

Ans. This is the very argument of the Papists in *Calvino Turcismo*, l. 4. c. 10. and improved by *Champaneus*. But its answered by *Mason de Ministerio Anglicano*, l. 3. c. 5. And hereunto I further say, That as all Magistrates in all Nations have power in matters of Religion, so they have the same power, but not the same skill to govern, nor the same Rule to go by in governing; as for instance ones Rule is his will, another's is the Law: and of those that are limited by Laws; some rule by some Laws; others, by other Laws different from them. So 1. in matters of Religion, Magistrates do rule according to the book delivered unto them: some have only the book of Nature put into their hands, and these have a faculty thereby given them to rule and order Religion according to that, such hath the Turk, and all unconverted Magistrates: Some have the Book of the Old Testament delivered into their hands; and those were sometimes to rule according to that. So *Deut.* 17. 18. it is said, that when the King sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, he shall write him a copy of the Law in a book, out of that which is before the Priests and Levites, and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the daies of his life. And in 2 *Chron.* 23. 11. it is said that they brought out the Kings son, and put upon him the crown, and gave him the Testimony, and made him King, &c. Some have the book of the New Testament put into their hands; and these are to order matters of Religion according to this: such

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are all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governours. Now whereas they would infer that therefore we must receive the **ALCORAN**, be Papists and I know not what, according to the sole will of our Governours whatever perswasion they be of; This is not so: for albeit whatsoever they enjoin according or not contrariant to these Books be firm and inviolable, yet whatsoever they determine without or against these Books is void: so that the Turk hath not a stable and inviolable power given him to impose the **ALCORAN** and to enjoin worship to *Mahomer*, in as much as no such rule is given by the book of Nature delivered unto him: Nature dictates no such thing, and therefore such a thing must be given by God himself, who is above Nature, or else it must be acknowledged to be, as it is indeed, a meer Imposture. The Kings of *Israel* had power given them to Rule by the Book of the Law in matters of Religion: But they that did set up Idolatry, contrary to the contents of that Book, did abuse their power, and in that regard their Injunctions were of no force. The King of *Spain* hath the book of the New Testament put into his hands, and consequently the moral part of the Old Testament, but he permitting Idolatry, and giving up his power into the Popes hands, whose Vassal he becomes, [as all Popish Princes do] he abuses this power. If any other Prince does the like, he is not to be followed therein: He is nevertheless passively to be obeyed; that is, a Christian-Subject is not to resist him, but he is to submit to such punishment as he shall inflict upon him, in as much as an error in the understanding; upon which proceeds the abuse of his power, which is accidental, does not make void his power, which is essential to him, and whereunto every soul is subject, *in foro externo*: The Spirit of God sayes in the same breath, *Fear God, honour the King*. He who doth any thing by command from the King contrary to the command of God, does not fear God; and he that rebelleth or resisteth [for it is all one] the King, upon any pretence whatsoever, doth not honour the King, but despise him, yea and resist the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation, *Rom. 13*. The same may be said of the Turks forbidding a man to believe in Christ, or any thing of absolute necessity to salvation, wherein he is not to be obeyed, in as much as it is not a thing contrary to the Law of Nature: but of the Infirmitie of the God of Nature, that we believe in God, and in him whom he hath sent, *J. his Christ his Son*.

2. Secondly, they say, that since our Saviour tells us, that *all power is given him in heaven and in earth, if the Magistrates have any such power, it is committed to them from the Lord Jesus Christ, and written in the New Testament.*

I answer, That no power could be given to Christ, which he had not before, being God eternal, and therefore we must say, that all power was in Christ naturally and essentially. But there's a power given him [which he had not but by gift] dispensatorily, as he is the Mediatour, which is nothing else but a Rule which he observes in the salvation of men, as a thing added, to his essential power. Now infidel Kings receive their power from Christs natural and essential power only, being not bound to believe in Christ, nor to observe the Rules he gives till revealed unto them, but to observe the Law of Nature given in Paradise according to which they and their subjects (inhidels) shall be judged. Wherefore I hope they will not send us to find this in the New Testament. Though they should, I have a text for them there too, *Rom. 1. 19, 20, 21. Because that which may be known of God, is manifest in them, for God hath shewed it unto them.* Kings that believe, receive their power, not from Christs natural and essential power onely, but from his dispensatorie power, as he is Mediatour and great Lawgiver to his Church: by which power he does not take away the former, but establish it rather. Let them shew me where he takes it away? If they do, they must shew me a contradiction to the words of the Apostle, who saies, *Rom. 13. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.* Oh but *these were heathen Magistrates*, say they. Whereunto I answer, that if every soul must be subject to Heathen Magistrates, much more then, to those that believe in Christ, who came not to destroy, but to re-
fesy and perfect the Law of Nature.

3. The third thing that they say, will fall to the ground upon what has been already spoken, viz. That *the Apostles themselves refused to be obedient to their Rulers*, Act. 4. 19, 20. *When they were commanded to forbear that which they judged to be a part of the worship of God.*

Ans. That their Rulers enjoined them not to preach Christ, and therein they did well to disobey, for otherwise they had not feared God; in as much as, though their Rulers were above them,

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God was above them both. Yet had they not obeyed passively as contented to suffer reproach for the name of Christ, they had erred against the fifth commandment of *Honour thy father and mother*, which is equivalent to that in the New Testament, *sc. Honour the King*, which is clean contrary to rebelling or resisting him. These things are so plain, that I wonder any should stumble at them, but that they are so blinded with passion and self-interest, that they cannot apprehend them.

4. They say in the fourth plate, That *all Emperours before Constantine, were Heathens, and that therefore those texts of Scripture that call for obedience to Magistrates, cannot intend obedience in matters of faith.*

Ans. Do they think that the New Testament, whereof these texts of Scripture are a part, belonged only to those that then lived, and not to us also? if not; then this text of Scripture, *viz. ye believe in God, believe in me also*, belonged not unto us, but to them only that lived then. *As we have opportunity let us do good unto all men, especially to them that are of the household of faith, Gal. 6. 10.* with all the rest of the New Testament belonged not to us, but to them only. They would have the Old Testament cashier'd: and if they reject the New, what Canon shall be left to walk by? no faith, no hope, no charity would be then necessary; this would be a liberty indeed, here would be room enough for an *Embustist* to wander in. But stay a little, Those texts of Scripture belonged not to them alone, who lived in those daies, but to us also [as does all the rest of the New Testament, who live under Christian Magistrates, and therefore they must intend obedience in matters of faith, and that because they are words indefinitely spoken, which we are not to restrain to our own sense, but rather to enlarge them into an universal proposition: *Let every soul be subject to the higher power*, wherein? In all things: for 'tis in *materia necessaria*, and consequently equivalent to an universal.

2. I answer, that albeit all Magistrates were now Heathens, yet it would comprehensively intend obedience to them in matters of faith [either active or passive] as to competent judges of them. *Felix* was a Heathen, *Act. 24.* yet he being the Deputy of the Roman Emperour, *St. Paul* is accused before him by *Tertullus*: whereupon, saies *St. Paul*, *I am judged concerning the Resurrection from the*

the dead, &c. concerning a principal Article of faith: The same controversy came shortly after before *Festus*, wherein St. Paul himself acknowledged his right of judging: *Here*, sayes he, *I ought to be judged.* Again, fearing the injustice of the Judge, He *appealed unto Caesar*, who of right was the supreme Judge, and a Heathen too. Other examples might be alledged out of primitive Authors, but in vain, against men who will deny the Sun shines, unless proved by expresse words of the New Testament. But this being the very Argument of *Champneus the Sorbonist*, page 580. I leave it further to be answered, if need be, by *Francis Mason de Minist. Angl. l. 3. c. 4.*

5. Fifthly, They say, *That if Magistrates as such have power from God, in the dayes of the Gospel, to command in spiritual matters, and to punish them that obey not, then must Christians surely be actually obedient, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake.*

Ans. I deny this Argument, for in commanding any thing contrary to the Word and Will of God, they abuse their power, either through ignorance or wilfulnesse, and in that case meerly passive obedience is to be yielded; for all things of practice are either absolutely unlawful, and in such the Magistrate is not to be obeyed, and that for conscience sake; because God, or Nature, which is the voice of God, is to be obeyed before men; or else absolutely necessary, and in such no man can make a question, whether Magistrates be to be obeyed or not; or indifferent, which stand in *Equilibrio* between good and evil; the grains of the Magistrates authority gives weight to that side it is put into, which must therefore incline us to obedience for conscience sake; not that humane Laws can be properly said to bind the conscience by the sole authority of the Law-givers, but they do it partly by the equity of the Laws, every man being obliged to promote that which conduceth to a publick good; and especially by Divine Authority, which commandeth *every soul to be subject to the higher powers*, for his conscience sake, and not prudentially only. The Question, sayes the now Lord Primate of Ireland *Bramhall* against *Militiars*, is soon decided. Just Laws of lawful Superiours, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, have authority to bind the conscience in themselves, not for themselves.

But

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But it is answered, say they, that all Magistrates, suppose whatever they impose. But the Question is, who is to determine, for if the Magistrate, or any other man or men have power from God to judge and determine, what is lawful for men to obey, then no room is left to them to dispute any of his commands, and so the crosse of Christ ceases, &c.

Answer. The twentieth Article of our Church tells us, who is to determine how, and what? *The CHURCH* hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith, and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to Gods word, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another: wherefore although the Church be a witness and keeper of holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.

All things contained in this Article are either indifferent, such as Rites or Ceremonies, or necessary, such are matters of faith: In the first it hath the power of ordaining, and yet it is not lawful to ordain any thing contrary to Gods Word. In the second, it has the power of explanation, and therefore it is a witness and keeper of holy Writ; yet it ought not so to expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another, nor enforce any thing besides the same to be believed as necessary to salvation. Now in case they should decree any Ceremonies contrary to the Word of God, or impose any thing to be believed besides the same, and so stir up the Magistrate to punish the contempt hereof, and the contemners be punished accordingly; How is the Cross of Christ made void in this case? Truly not at all, no more then *Peter* and *John* did make void the Crosse of Christ, in refusing to obey the Rulers of the *Jews*, forbidding them to speak any more in the name of *Jesus*, *Acts* 4. On the other side, what if no Rites or Ceremonies were decreed against the Word of God, and nothing imposed upon them as necessary to salvation, but liberty were granted them to embrace nothing but what they could easily so allow, what sword of the Magistrate would be drawn against them? And would not the Cross of Christ cease in their own sense? So then, there were no better way of answering their Argument drawn from the ceasing of the Crosse of Christ, then by granting them their desire,

In

In the last place, they urge the example of *Gallio* the Roman Deputy of *Achaia*, *Acts* 18. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Which worthy example, say they, if Magistrates would be persuaded to follow, by judging and punishing only civil injuries and wrongs, and leaving spiritual differences to be decided, and judged, and punished by Jesus Christ according to the Gospel, they would then find themselves quickly free from many inconveniencies, &c.

Ans. These men either speak merrily, or else they wanted examples to prove their Assertion, who had none to cite, but that of the most corrupt Magistrate that ever sat at the helm of Government. And behold the worthy example which he gives, *He judged and punished civil injuries*, say they: But no such matter: for the Insurrection against *Paul* was a civil injury; they cryed for justice, or rather for injustice, in a tumultuous way against an innocent person; and this *Gallio* never relieved, or as much as heard him speak; which had he done, that innocent person, *St. Paul*, would haply have proved there as formerly he had done at *Athens*, that that God whom they ignorantly worshipt did he declare unto them. And it seems that he gave the Greeks so good satisfaction in the matter, that they took *Softenes* the Ruler of the Synagogue, and probably the Ring-leader of that Riot, and beat him before his face, as he sat in judgement, he not as much as rebuked them for it. As for the differences concerning Worship, it is said of them, as well as of the civil ones, that *Gallio* cared for none of those things; who probably might have the same design upon some of them in this kind of deportment of his, that *Felix* had, *Acts* 24. 26. who hoped for a bribe to be given him by *Paul*: for this controversie in all likelihood did not end here, though the event be omitted as impertinent to this sacred story. Mean while who can justifie this to be a worthy example, which was so unworthily done, *viz.* that he would not heed things that concern the worship of God, which all the company judged of right to have appertained unto him? Neither did he himself deny that he *bad*, but that he *would* have any thing to do with such matters: For why, had not he as much authority as *Ariopagus*, *Acts* 17. which was the highest Court in *Athens*, and the exactest in the world in their proceedings, as we learn from *Aristotle*, 1 *Rhet.* I. who took upon them to be Judges of such matters, which the Philosophers themselves knew right well to appertain unto them, when they brought *St. Paul* to be tryed before them for his

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Doctrine: neither did the Apostle demurre to their Bill of information, as if it had not been within their Instructions for their Jurisdiction.

Sect. 10.

ANd now having answered all their objections against a Magistrates power of imposing any thing in worship and service of God, as he is a Magistrate only: I come to answer their second part of the proposition; and their reasons to confirm it; viz. That *No Magistrate hath any such power, as he is a Christian.* For answer whereunto, the contrary is evident. For as every member of the Church consisteth of an outward, as well as of an inward man, so the Government of the Church regardeth the outward, as well as the inward man, which consisteth in defending it, and delivering it from its enemies, as also in ordering and adorning it. As then, sayes *Grotius*, the universal providence of God, which watcheth over all things though it be of it self sufficient to dispose and execute every thing: yet for the demonstration of its manifold wisdom, it useth (*poteſtatibus vicariis*) the substitution of worldly powers, for the conservation of the common society of men, whence it is that they are called *Gods*. So also the special providence of God watching over his Church adoprerh the same powers to himself as his Vicars and Patrons of the true faith *kissing Christ*, on whom also he confers his name, that is to say *Anointed*. These are Kings & Princes that govern together with Christ, not in equal share of power, but by delegation and Vicarship only. Wherefore since things subordinate do not crosse one the other, neither does it misbecome the Majesty of Christ to govern the principalls of his Kingdome immediately by himself, the other partly by himself and partly by others, [as it is also most certain that he uses the help of Angels] it follows that an earthly Kingdome even as if it respects holy things nothing hinders the heavenly and divine Empire of Christ. Adversaries to this Doctrine on the one side are Papists and Presbyterians, both acknowledging a temporal power in order to spirituals, but one of them putting this power into the hands of the Pope, the other into the hands of the Presbytery, those constituting *Imperium supra imperium*

riam, these Imperiums in imperio at least. And they prove it by this argument; viz. *The Magistrate is not of the essence of the Church, Therefore he's not necessary to the Government thereof.* Answer, So neither is the Magistrate of the essence of a Physician, or a Merchant, or of a Mason; yet he equally governs them all. They both object, that Kings are enjoined to adore the Church. Answer, That is to say, to adore Christ in the Church, sayes *Hugo Grotius*, there is a Trope in that part of the prophecy, neither can the *in parva*, sayes he, be rigidly urged, unlesse we will transerre that Majesty to the Church, which is due to Christ who is prince of the Earth, *Apoc. 1. 5.* It cannot be denied, but that as the Church-men have a distinct charge from and above others; yea even Kings themselves, so there is a proportionable honour, and a submission due to them, *Heb. 13. 17. Obey them that have the Rule over you, and submit your selves, for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, &c.* But I answer, that that is enjoined to Prince and people, viz. that they submit themselves to their Pastors, (*quatenus*) as they speak unto them the word of God, as the holy Ghost himself expounds it, v. 7. of the same Chapter. The King as he is a sheep of the fold of Christ, is fed by the Bishop or Pastor. The Bishop as a sheep and a subject is fed by the King. The Bishop as he teaches the King, and administers holy things unto him, is above the King; that is, in the actual execution of his functions. But the King, as he establishes these things by wholesome Laws and commands, the Execution of these functions, is above the Bishop: as the Sun is above the Moon, so the Moon may be above the Sun in a several respect. In respect of the distance from the Center of the World, the Sun is ever above the Moon; but in respect of Elevation above the Horizon, the Moon may be & is many times above the Sun: 2. Adversaries to the foresaid truth on the other side are those with whom we have here to doe, who will not have the Church in any wise to be subject to any temporal power, in as much as they receive no such from Christ. And to prove this, they urge here in the first place, That the Lord Jesus Christ would never by any outward force compell men to receive him or his doctrine; for when his Disciples, supposing he might use violence, [as under the Law] would have had him command fire to come down from heaven [as Elias did] to consume them that would not receive him, Christ turned and rebuked them, saying, Ye know not what Spirit ye are of, the Son of man is not come to destroy

mens lives, &c. Luc. 9. 54, 55, 56.

Ans. The fact of *Elias* was extraordinary, and not justifiable by the Law, as they pretend; and so had this been in our Saviour, had he done it at their request.

But what had this been to the receiving of, or rejecting his Doctrine? The question was touching the reception of his person, and the reason why those *Samaritans* did not that act of civility to him as to entertain him, was because either they supposed he would not have come upon their invitation, or else they would not invite him by reason of the animosity that was between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, as supposing that a friend of *Hierusalem* or an inhabitant thereof neither deserved, nor would accept of entertainment from them. And all this is clear by that conference of the woman of *Samaria* with our Saviour, *John 4. 9.* *How is it,* saies she, *that thou being a Jew atkest drink of me that am a woman of Samaria? for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.*

They further urge, *John 12. 47, 48.* *If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not, for I came not to judge the world, &c.*

Ans. There are two comings of Christ, one secretly and in humility, that he might be judged and delivered up; the other manifestly and majestically that he might judge and remunerate. Now if Christ had come at first manifestly, he had never been crucified, for had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory, and had he come majestically with a great retinue of men or angels, which he might have commanded, the whole *Roman Empire* would have trembled at his presence, so far would *Pilate* the *Roman Procurator* have been from calling him before his tribunal. Nevertheless he did sometimes use outward force in things appertaining to the worship of God; giving us thereby not only an adumbration of his spiritual Kingdome; but also a copy for Magistrates his Vicegerents to write after: for finding in the Temple those that sold oxen, sheep, and doves (*John 2. 14.*) and the changers of money sitting, he made a scourge of small cords, and drove them all out of the Temple, and the sheep and the oxen, and poured out the changers money. The like did he at another time, *Mat. 21. 12, 13.*

For the distance of time and other circumstances do prove that these were different acts of our Saviour as all Expositours agree in this chapter

chapter from the second to the thirteenth verse, we read how he sent two of his disciples to p^ress an ass and a colt to carry him as it were to his Coronation, the which was obeyed, as all good subjects will their Sovereign: upon this ass they put foot-clothes, and mounted him, the multitudes that met him spread their garments in the way, and strewed it with branches of trees, crying on either side, *Hosanna to the Son of David*, which is as much as to say, God save the King.

The first thing he did after his coming to his Royal City was the reformation of things amiss in the worship of God, *went into the Temple, cast out them that bought and sold there*: and there he cured the Kings evil too, *b. e.* such diseases as could not be cured but by this King of the *Jews*, v. 14. to reach all Kings which claim under him to employ their first and chiefest endeavours, after their enthronization towards matters appertaining to the worship of God, and in works of charity towards such as are in extream necessity. But should our Saviour have used such authority as often as occasion presented it self, he would have been dreaded by all men, and crucified by none, and so prophecies would not have been fulfilled. Nevertheless he ceaseth not to govern the Church, and in that sense to *judge the world* by the Magistrates and Ministers of the Word: for as *Grotius* saies, some actions of Christ in the Administration of his Kingdom are [as he calls them] Terminal, *viz.* such as concern the beginning and ending of his administration. Such as concern the beginning of his administration are the giving of Laws to his Church, under hope of eternal reward, or under pain of everlasting damnation. That which concerns the end is a definitive jurisdiction at the last day, whereof as he hath done the one, so will he do the other himself alone, wherein he hath neither companion nor Vicegerent. Other actions of Christ are middle actions which come between these two terms, which partly concern the inward, partly the outward man. He acteth in the inward man by his Spirit several waies, *viz.* by enlightning, by converting, by strengthening against temptations, by remitting or retaining sins: yet he useth herein the outward ministry of men, *viz.* of Pastours, private men, Kings, every one in his several capacity, not as his Vicars or Vicegerents, these being not able to produce actions congenial to those of Christ; but as his ministers only, being apt to the production of such actions as may sub-

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serve to the principal cause in matters aforesaid. The actions of Christ that concern the outward man, consist in defending and delivering the Church, and in ordering and adorning the same, as I said before, and herein he uses the Vicarship of his Magistrates, as being apt to produce actions, in this respect congenial to his own, whom he therefore calls his Christs, *b. e.* his **ANointed** ones. And now whereas they say, that *the Apostles were far from propagating the Gospel by outward force.* It is evident that the ordinary power of the Apostles and of the Magistrates are different things: and who talks of propagating the Gospel by outward force in either? Our King is the *Defender of the faith* by the sword that he holds: He goes not about to propagate it [if by propagation you mean plantation too] by force and violence. His Majesty is furnished with an *Aphorism* of his learned and judicious Grandfather against that, *viz. That it is never good to use too much severity or bloodshed in matters of Religion: God never loves to plant his Church by violence and blood.* **King James Aphorism 124.** This his Majesty leaves to the *Spanish* cruelties in the *Indies*, and to their Inquisition at home. And as for the Apostles, 'tis true they did not propagate the Gospel by force, [though mischief enough befell those at whom they shook off the dust of their feet] but yet they did govern established Churches by force, which was a *delivery over unto Satan*, 1 Cor. 5. 5. *for the punishment of the flesh.* And no other manner of punishment could be inflicted on offenders by them, while there was no temporal Magistrate to impower them, or at most, none but such as was like their beloved *Gallio*, who cared for none of those things: yet this, **TAKE HIM DEVIL**, a man would think were more terrible then **TAKE HIM JAYLOR**, which they have printed in capital letters. Hence saies *St. Paul*, Gal. 5. 12. *I would that those were cut off that trouble you*, which had it been unlawfull to do, had been unlawfull in him to wish. As to the *dividing of the inheritance* which our Saviour refused [which they have put in the margin as a Buttress to hold up the arch and concameration of their argument] I say, that our Saviour would not always be vacant to satisfy the Avarice of a fellow, (who followed him for such ends) to the neglect of a business which he had but a short time to dispatch in the world, though such was his zeal of Gods house, that he could not forbear the riding of the Temple of sacrilegious persons. And thus their first argument

gument falls to the ground with the improvement thereof, to make the ruine of it the greater.

SECT. 11.

FOr the further improvement of their foregoing argument, they alledge that place of the Apostle, 2 Cor. 1. 24. *Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for by faith ye stand.*

Ans. For exposition whereof we say, that one thing amongst others, that gave the Apostle occasion of writing this Epistle, was the command given by him of delivering the incestuous person to Satan for the punishment of the flesh. The Apostle having founded a Church at *Corinth*, false Doctours building on this foundation perswaded them [as these Authours would perswade others in the like cases] that St. *Paul* plaid the part of a proud domineering fellow, and of one who took more upon him then belonged unto him. Hereupon the Apostle excuses himself and saies, that though necessity urged to a just severity against the sin, yet he assumed to himself no dominion over their faith: no, for that were to pull up that foundation on which they stood, for by faith ye stand, and it were to destroy that which he had first layed.

But then some may say, That though the Apostle had power in matters belonging to religious practice, yet it seems hereby that he had *none in matters of faith*.

Whereunto I answer, that it's one thing to have power *in* matters of faith, and another to have power *over* matters of faith. To have power *over* matters of faith is the prerogative of Christ alone, he being the only Law-giver to his Church: to give Laws to the Church is *actio terminalis*, a terminal action of Christ; and herein he admits of no Vicarship or Vicegerency, as I have already said, which is such as the Popes pretend to in making new articles of faith: and that this is the meaning of this place, is the opinion of some that are no enemies to our present adversaries. Nevertheless to have power *in* matters of faith appertains to the Church, as I have said before, out of the twentieth Article of our Church. And that the Apostle had such a power is evident in the case of *Hymenæus* and *Philetus*, whom

St.

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- St. Paul delivered unto Satan for making shipwrack concerning faith, *1 Tim.* i. 20. The same Apostle alio sayes, *Whoſoever loves not the Lord Jeſus, let him be Anathema Maranatha,* *1 Corinth.* 16. 22. which ſome call an Excommunication unto death, others interpret it, The Lord cometh: they are both the ſame in effect, at leaſt they imply a greater degree of puniſhment then the former; The delivery unto Satan being only *for the puniſhment of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord Jeſus.* But the Lord coming once in vengeance, *it is a fearful thing to fall into his hands,* as ſayes the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 10. 31.

The ſecond place they urge is, *Matth.* 20. 25. ſc. *The Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion over them, but it ſhall not be ſo among you.*

Anſw. That if it be ſo, that in the perpetual office of Paſtors the uſe of the Keyes has a kind of juriſdiction, as I have proved as well by poſitive places of Scripture, as by the real effects that accompany it in the Apoſtles, we muſt ſearch out ſome other meaning by this place, then the denyal thereof to them. And then it muſt be either this, *viz.* you look after eaſie ſeats, like thoſe of the Kings of the Gentiles, who rule in eaſe and pleaſure; but it ſhall not be ſo among you: ſo Doctor *Hammond.* Or elſe it muſt be this, *viz.* That the Apoſtles were not to ſtrive for Dominion one over another, but to content themſelves with what they had over the Churches. Or laſtly, it muſt be that which I find in the Treatiſe of the power of the Pope touching the book of *Saternelly* the Jeſuite, written *Anno 1626.* *The Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion over them: but it ſhall not be ſo among you;* that is, you ſhall not exerciſe dominion over the Nations by a temporal ſword; whereunto you your ſelves are ſubject, as is learnt from the example of *Paul,* who declined not the juriſdiction of *Ceſar,* *Acts.* 25. But which expoſition ſoever of theſe three obtains, how does this prove what theſe men have in deſign, *viz.* that no Chriſtian Magiſtrate is to be a Defender of the Faith? If they will grant him to be a Magiſtrate, they muſt allow him a ſuperiority, and veſt him in a power, elſe they will but mock him: and this power extends to matters appertaining to the worſhip of God, as has been likewise proved.

The third place, 1 Pet. 5. 2, 3. *Feed the flock of God* —
neither as being Lords over Gods heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.

Ans. By what has been said it is evident, that they had a power over the flock of Christ, and that not only a power accompanying the Word preached, but a power of oversight; for so much is clear out of the very place they here quote, viz. v. 2. *Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof:* and Acts 20. 28. they are called *Overseers* (the very name *Bishop* is an *Overseer*.) This power was exercised then not in doctrine only, but in discipline too: This discipline reached to the punishing of the body. Therefore we must distinguish of power: As 1. That there is a power instituted by Christ, or exercised by his Apostles, as has been evidenced: That such a power may be exercised no man can well deny, for whoeover does, is a Heretick. 2. There is a power of confederation or consent: the which confederation or consent was either instituted in Primitive times, and derived down from thence to these our dayes, such as is jurisdiction meerly ecclesiastical; and who disobeyes or separates from this power, is a Schismatick at the least: or else it has been taken up by particular Congregations or Conventicles of men, and this is the power that these men would have, which is a meer mock power, under which they will play fast and loose at their pleasure, not unlike that of your *Episcopus puerorum*, serving only for a Christmasse season, condemned by the Council of *Basil* in *Pragmatica Sanctione*, fol. 173: 3. There is a power neither of Gods donation, nor of Apostolical prescription, nor of Ecclesiastical Institution, nor of congregational confederation [which I said before to be no proper power at all, in as much as it is not any way obligatory to him who is under it] but of mens own assumption, which is either *Imperium supra Imperium*; such is the Popes: or *Imperium in Imperio & ab Imperio avulsum*; such is the Presbyterians, as it hath been practised in *Scotland*. Or which is Tyrannical in the execution of it; by imposing new Articles of faith or Doctrine, contrary to the form of sound words, as the Pope does do, or cutting off mens heads by inspiration, as some of the other limb of Antichrist, the Fanaticks have done: and so they are not to lord it over Gods heritage.

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The fact of *Thomas Schucker*, the Disciple of *Melchior Rinchius*, is not [unless it be for the horridness of it] to be omitted. This *Schucker* in the midst of a numerous Assembly of his own gang, pretending he was inspired from Heaven, cryed, *Woe, woe, woe*, commanded a Sword to be brought him, and withall he called to his Brother *John* to kneel down upon his knees: his Parents with others asking him what he meant by this preparation, he bade them be of good cheer, he being about to do nothing but what should be revealed unto him from the heavenly Father. The eyes and minds of all being intent upon this new spectacle, this mad Prophet drew the sword, and therewith divided his said Brothers head from his shoulders, which struck his Parents with great grief of heart, and the rest with terrour. Being apprehended by the Magistrate, who would allow him no more liberty of conscience [for if he had, his own head might have gone after] He suffered condign punishment for this his cruel fratricide, never all this while repenting of the crime, but constantly affirming, that this will of God was revealed unto him from Heaven. This Tragedy happened in *Fano Galli*. Anno 1527. And whether some men of this Generation have not dyed much like him, I leave it to those that beheld them.

It is true, as these men further alledge, that the *Apostles* were *Embassadors for the Prince of Peace*, and in his stead did pray the unbelievers to be reconciled to God. And what if they would not embrace the Gospel, but remain without the pale of the Church? what had they to do to judge those that were without? 1 Cor. 5. 12. What could be expected from such, lesse then *revilings, persecutions, desamations*? And what lesse is expected by God from them, then *bleffing, sufferings, intreatings, patience, long-suffering, love unfeigned, &c.*?

Sect. 12.

THe next place alledged by them is, *Matth. 13.* The Parable of the Tares; whereof it is said, *Let both grow together till the Harvest.*

Answ.

Ans. I agree with them, that this place does not only respect the second, but the first Table, the subject whereof is the worship of God. But withall I answer first, with that Expofitor they mention, that it seems not to note the duty of the civil Magistrate, but the event of Gods Providence, namely, that God would permit the cohabitation of the wicked in the world with the just; not that the Magistrates or Ministers should permit them, and not by civil punishment or ecclesiastical remove them out of the Church or world, if the quality of the offence so required it.

But say they, *If men did not fight against the truth, they would not so eminently contradict their own sayings, for who can believe that it should be the mind of God to permit the cohabitation of the wicked in the world with the just, as aforesaid, and yet the Magistrate should not permit them, but remove them by civil punishment out of the world? Hath the Magistrate power to remove those out of the world, that God would have permitted to live? How soon may a Magistrate, if guided by such a doctrine, bring the blood of the innocent upon himself and Nation?*

Ans. Here is no contradiction at all: neither doth a Magistrate bring innocent blood upon himself by going about to put those to death [if they deserve it] whom the event of Gods providence keeps alive. When a Traytour or Murderer makes an escape, the event of Gods Providence keeps him alive, whom the Magistrate would have put to death, and this without bringing innocent blood upon himself. *Abraham* did well in going about to sacrifice his Son *Isaac*, having a command from God to do it, Yet the event of Gods Providence kept him alive, *Genes. 22.* The *Gibionites* were of the *Hivites*, whom God commanded the *Israelites* to destroy, yet the event of Gods providence kept them alive, *Joshua 9.* The *Israelites* had Commission from God to fight against the *Benjamites* the first and second time, yet the event of Gods providence gave them the better till the third Encounter, *Judges 20.* How these particulars came to passe, may be read in their several stories.

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And how such events may happen frequently under a Magistrate using his power, is thus made good. The wise Creator of all the World having afforded to every creature, a means most suitable to its nature, for the accomplishment of its end and perfection, and for the removal of impediments which lie in its way thereunto, has done no lesse to man in as much as for the encouragement of his obedience, and the removal of sin out of the way to happinesse; [both which are moral things] he plies him with exhortations, comminations, blessings, curses, examples, precepts, which are moral too; and all this may be done by the Ministers of the word, or of others in their capacities. And because, if he stayed here, the major part, which have lesse of Natures first institution in them, would be never the better for all these; he hath ordained the Magistracy, so to be a *terroux to evil works to execute wrath on them that do evil*, Rom. 13. without which no man would be able to maintain his proprieties in goods and lands, preserve his life and liberty, and consequently all civil society [which not men only, but even beasts, birds, fishes, and in sects themselves seem to affect] would fall to the ground. Yet let the Magistrate do what he can [and let him do but Justice] the wicked will have a cohabitation among the Just, and that for these reasons; *viz.* because he is not omniscient and sees not all wickednesse: 2. although he sees it, yet he may not by testimonies be able to convince all men of their wicked deeds: 3. because that though he may convince, yet all wickednesse is not capital whereof persons may be convinced, without which a man cannot be taken out of the world: and this is the event of Gods providence. If they say that he might have used natural means to obstruct so great an evil as sin is, and to advance the happinesse of man; I say then, either the means must be made connatural to man, or man to the means: If the first, this is done already, in as much as moral and civil means are most connatural to man, a free agent and *animal politicum*. If the second, its impossible to be done in as much as it were to make him an animate thing, or at the least a Brute, which work, this without choice and that without proper appetition; and consequently he must not have made him at all: for it is well said of *Lactantius de falsa sapientia*, which is of his works, l. 3. c. 18. Who considering the devotion of *Plato*, who gave thanks to Nature for three things. 1. That he was born a man, and not a beast. 2. That he was a man rather then a woman, a *Grecian* and
nor

not a *Barbarian*. 3. That he was an *Athenian*, and lived in the time of *Socrates*. Then which, saies he, what can be said more like a Doctor, as though, if he had been a *Barbarian*, a Woman, or an Ass, he had been the same *Plato* that he was, and not that very thing which had been so born? If they say that God then may use supernatural means by working transcendently above the wills of men without destroying their Nature or abridging their freedom. Whereunto it is answered that as, had God done the other, he would have destroyed his providence touching the creation of man; so, should he do this, he would destroy his providence preparatory to the last Judgement, wherein every man shall receive according to that he hath done in the body whether good or evil. But though this Exposition be pious and not to be rejected, yet this Parable, methinks more naturally admits of another, which I shall lay before the Reader, and which may import the duty of the Magistrate and Minister of Gods word, as well as the event of Gods providence. It is thus, There are two sorts of evils which may grow up with the good seed of the Law of Nature implanted in man in his first creation, or of the Gospel given for mans renovation. The one sort may be compared to tares (as here) whereof there is a sort which the *Greeks*, say to be *ἀνὰ σπορὰς συνπαράγουσαν τὴν ἀνὰ* such as grows up of it self among the wheat in an over-moist and corrupt earth, without any seed sown at all. Such are those evils either in manners or opinion which though they seem to us, that cannot see all things, to grow of themselves, yet they owe their beginning to the enemy the Devil, who first corrupted & endeavours daily more & more to corrupt our Nature. The other sort of evils are compared to thorns and briars, Heb. 6. 8. whose end is to be burned, such as are desperate and incorrigible sinners, as may be clearly seen by the scope of the Apostle in that place. The first sort are evils of infirmity for the most part, which are entwisted with our Nature, as tares are with corn, and therefore cannot be cut down, unlesse the good grain goes down with them, all men even the best being subject unto them. Should the Magistrate cut down all these, he must cut himself down for company: and should *S. Paul* have delivered men to Satan for these, he must have given himself into his hands: for though he knew nothing by himself, yet was he not hereby justified. Nevertheless he used a severity towards himself by keeping down his body and bringing it into subjection, as a Magistrate may do towards his Subjects for reforming

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of lesser evils and preventing of greater; nay *S. Paul* had the messenger of *Satan*, a thorn in his flesh, sent to him, least he should be puffed up with the abundance of Revelations, 2 Cor. 12. 7. The second sort are evils of presumption which like bryars and thorns are not necessarily entwisted with our Nature, but yet growing up amongst the good grain, will choak it, and therefore calls for present *cursing*, and lastly for *burning*, least in the end of the world, it being all become bryars and thorns, there would remain no harvest to the great Husbandman to be brought into his barnes by his reapers: and so this world destroys Gods providence preparatory to the last Judgement on the right hand, as the forementioned supposition would destroy it on the left.

Sect. 13.

THeir next Argument is taken from the *fallibility of Magistrates*, which renders them, they say, *uncapable of judging*.

Ans. It is true that no man is infallible: if he were, he were no man; they needed not to have produced the authority of *S. Peter* to prove it. *And now brethren I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your Rulers.* The which place proves it but weakly neither, in as much as there appeared much of malice in the condemnation of our Saviour, in denying and delivering him to be crucified, whom *Pilate* himself was determined to let go. They did it ignorantly only in this respect, namely, that they *knew him not to be the Lord of Glory*. *S. Peter* makes no mention of their malice, though great, least thereby they might have thought the door of mercy to have been shut against them, and so they might have come to the same end as their ring-leader *Judas* did. Here was a double defect which occasioned a wrong judgement, one was of knowledge and a well informed understanding, the other was of an honest purpose of mind; neither of these does destroy the power of a Magistrate, the Rulers remained Rulers still, notwithstanding their ignorance or malice in this action. Indeed *Plato* saies, *Beatas civitates fore si aut Philosophi regnarent, aut reges philosopharentur*: 'Tis true, that happy is that City where Princes are qualified with gifts suitable to their high calling. But if he want, it as if Philosophy did

did give a right to anothers Kingdom, or were necessarily required to the establishment of his own. I say, that then it was a saying becoming one that held a commodity of goods and prices, whereby he would take from some, that which was their own; and give to others that which belonged to them, *Last. l. 3. 10.*

This consideration therefore serves only, and that very well too, as a motive to care and conscience in the exercise of power, *2 Chr. 19. 7.* *Jehoshaphat* speaking of this very matter, gave to his Judges, whom he constituted, this charge, *Take heed and do it*, or take heed the doing of it. *Moses, Exod. 3. 11.* said to God, *Who am I, that I should go to Pharaoh, & that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?* yet God would have him go and do it, *Exo. 3. 10. 11.*

If then the fallibility of a Magistrate as being a man, or the conscience of his own weaknesse as such a person, was no argument in those daies, against the power of the Magistrate or the exercise of it, how much lesse is it now under the Gospel, when the light is ordinarily greater then in those times theirs was? Hereunto they will answer two things. 1. That Magistrates under the Old Testament had advantages which ours have not. Whereunto I shall reply anon in its due place, 2. That there is no such need of Magistrates now: for *in those daies* [the times of the Gospel] *all shall know the Lord.*

Hereunto I answer, that if *all*, then the Magistrates especially, who have a special promise for it, as is evident from what has been alledged. If arguments drawn from the Law of *Moses* prevail not with them, what will they say to the Law of Nature? Thus then I argue.

A Magistrates care ought to be about that wherupon principally depends the establishment of a Commonwealth, and the suppression of opinions and men that would ruine it. But upon Religion, principally depends the establishment of a Commonwealth, as is made good from the judgement of the very Heathen themselves; as histories, and what before has been shewed, do witnesse; therefore a Magistrate ought to have a principal care of Religion, even by the Law of Nature. This care of Religion consists generally in two things, 1. in setting up of Religion it self, without which can be expected no blessing from God upon, nor obedience from the people to the Magistrate under the notion of Gods Vicegerent. 2. In avoiding of differences in opinions: for from diversities of opinions men usually

ally fall into diversity of affection and interest, which tends to the ruine of a Commonwealth. 'Tis true that as in a State, provided that all the Citizens hold the same fundamental Maxims necessary to the undergoing of duties essential to its conservation, the Magistrate may tolerate amongst them a difference in many other matters of lesse importance. So it is in the Church as long as every man upholds those opinions which make for the honour of God, and peace and unity of the Church, in the communion whereof he lives, lesser things may be born with. But shall every man be his own Judge herein? No, for there's a threefold judgement, a judgement of discretion, a judgement of direction, and a judgement of jurisdiction: Every Christian has a judgement of discretion, *prove all things, hold fast that which is good, 1 Thes. 5. 21.* by applying the rule of the holy Scripture to his own private consolation and edification, The Pastours of the Church [who are the watchmen placed over the *Israel, b. e.* the Church and House of God] have a judgement of direction to expound the holy Scriptures to others. The chief Pastours to whose care the regiment of the Church is committed in a more special manner, have not this only, but a higher degree of judgement, which is of jurisdiction, to enjoin, to reform, to censure, to condemn, to bind, to loose judicially and authoritatively in their respective charges. If their key shall err, whether it be that of knowledge or jurisdiction, they are accountable to their respective Superiours from thence to a National, and last of all to a general council. And that such councils be called, such persons be settled, such charges be by the said persons daily executed, is the Magistrates duty to see to, and his prerogative to command or allow.

But oh what mistakes, say they, by Magistrates, are continued in Holland about Religion, &c?

Ans. If such mistakes are continued in Magistrates, how would these be multiplied, if every one of the people were left to himself? Surely for one that is now, there would be ten thousand in that case. And whereas they urge *Popes, Councils, Oecumenical and National,* that they have erred.

It is answered, that when we yield obedience to the Pope, or be concluded by the Councils and Synods which they alledge, they will be found to say something to the purpose. But since they cannot prove these things, they might have spared as great a many of lines, as I mean to spare in their confutation: yet the 21. Article

of

of our Church yields more then they have proved, viz. That General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes: And when they be gathered together [for as much as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God] they may erre, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God: wherefore things ordained by them, as necessary unto salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of the holy Scripture. Now what use will our adversaries here make of this our gratification? Even this, viz. What security then can a Magistrate have that he does well?

Ans. As much security as a Judge that condemns a Prisoner at the Bar, in as much as the *Notitia Juris* is clear. The probation of the fact depends upon witnesses, whereupon if a guiltlesse person be condemned, the Judge has done his duty by ordering the formality of the tryal, and so has delivered his own soul.

SECT. 14.

NExt they argue from the Royal Law of Liberty, viz. *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.* And those that are forward to persecute, would not be very zealous in their proceedings, if they were sure that those they persecute should have the power on their sides to meet the same measure unto them.

Ans. That when a man is punished for the committing of any thing unlawful to be done, or omitting that which is unlawful to be left undone, this only is a persecution in Scripture sense. But when a man is condemned for omitting that which ought, or committing that which ought not to be done [such are things which are either absolutely evil or good in themselves, or being indifferent are made so by the intervention of humane authority] this is no persecution, but justice: And whosoever shall do such justice upon any man, and be willing that the prisoner should do so to him, the prisoner would either do it according to the Law as his Rule, and would proceed to sentence, *secundum allegata & probata* as to matter of fact,

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fact, and so he would do well: for in reason [from whence a well ordered will has its denomination] he could not refuse it: Or else the Prisoner coming to judge, would do it in an arbitrary way, without or against Law, and not *secundum allegata & probata* for matter of fact, but on his own head, or some underhand information of some whom the party accused shall never see nor know [as has been practised under the late Tyranny] He were mad if he should. Who would be contented that another mans Bowl should have a byass, and his own have none at all? Therefore *Arist. Rhet. 1. 1.* sayes That it is most convenient, that all things be determined by Laws, and that as few things as may be be left to the power of the Judges: And that

1. Because it is easier to find one and a few, then many that are prudent enough to give Laws, or determine Causes.
2. Because Laws are made upon mature deliberation going before their Sanction, but Sentences are given on a sudden, which renders it difficult for the Judges to do right to every man.
3. Because [which is the weightiest of all reasons] the judgement of a Law-giver is not of singularities and present matters, but of things future and universal: but a concional Auditor and Judge are to determine of present and definite things, where oftentimes either love, or hatred, or private commodity comes in; in so much that they cannot sufficiently look into the merit of the cause, but either private interest or trouble will darken their judgement. But there is no good Body of Laws, wherein there is not a *Lex Talionis*, h. e. a provision made, that any man, whatsoever he be, may have his remedy against him that has done him wrong, though it were his own Master that did it, for otherwise a tyranny would be introduced. And on the other side, that a man may make or expect a retribution for a favour done, otherwise ingratitude would take place. Both which are grounded upon this, namely, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, the same do ye also unto them: And the same measure ye meet shall be measured to you again*, Matth. 7. 21. So sacred a thing was gratitude, that the Heathen (as *Aristotle* testifies, *Eth. 5. 5.* *κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀνταποδοῦναι, ἢ ἀνταποδοτικὴν*) put the Temple of the Graces in the way, that a man cannot walk the street, but he must stumble upon the duty. And the Civil Law puts it in the sole power of the Parent to disinheret his Son for the contrary, whose examination is to be rescinded, and he deprived of his

his undeserved liberty, *Cod. 8. c. 50.* And though our Laws punish not unthankfulness to the Fathers of our flesh, the Fathers of our spirits, the Fathers of our fortunes [for indeed it being comprehensive of all wickedness, no one punishment is enough for it] yet nevertheless the Temple of the Graces is not shut against these, the Law is open to these with us: and therefore that Royal Law is so far observed.

But yet in as much as the Law is an universal precept, as one calls it, in the universality whereof all particular Cases cannot be comprehended, therefore something of necessity must be left to the prudence of the Judge to determine as he thinks meet, provided it be not against the Law, which is immutable. In which case why should any man prejudice his Judge, who is sworn to observe this Royal Law? Indeed should he do so, then what they seem to threaten by the Objection here made, they might have just cause of fear: for they do as good as say, Let them look to it, for trump may turn up on our side again, which if it does, the same rigour which they use to us, shall we use towards them; a Resolution, not only contrary to this Royal Law, but to Christs commandment under the Gospel, *Matth. 5. 39. Resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.*

But to answer for them as much as possibly can be said in favour of them: They may say, that they give this as a Rule, which in common prudence a man would observe, not but that they would make demonstration of meekness and lenity, should the disposal of affairs fall into their hands.

But I answer, that this is more then they can promise; for so said *Parmenio* to *Alexander* [when *Darius* offered him ten thousand talents for the redemption of Prisoners, with all the Land he had on this side *Euphrates*, and one of his Daughters for a wife to boot] I would take it if I were *Alexander*; and so would I, said *Alexander*, if I were *Parmenio*, *Plut. in vita Alex.* Private persons know not what themselves would be, should they come to sit at the Helm of Government. Then things that make for the interest of themselves, or their Partisans, may seem convenient, which were before abominable in their eyes. One did not know that he should account the Universities the only remaining glory of the Nation, till he came to be head of one of the fairest Colledges in

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the Enigmatical pillars were then no longer Myſteries of iniquity. Another would have *Chriſt Church* paſſe for a Collegiate Dean and Prebends, till he found Leases to be invalid without the prophane Title of Cathedral. A third, and he guilty of the *Magnum Lætrocinium* of all, was at firſt for a popular Government, till he had gotten upon the back of the *populace*, which he perſwaded that it could not mannage its liberty without a Rider. And then——what then? As a reward of their ingratiitudes to the King, the Father of his Country,

Non equitem dorſo, nec franam depulit ore.

Sect. 15.

ANother Argument is, That as it is not any wayes lawſul from the Word of God, for Chriſtian Magiſtrates in the dayes of the Goſpel, to deſtroy and root out the contrary minded in religious matters [though Idolaters] ſo ſuch proceedings may ſometimes prove inſiſtent with the very being of Nations: for ſuppoſe any Nation were wholly heatheniſh Idolaters, and the Word of God coming in amongſt them, ſhould convert the chief Magiſtrate, and one twentieth part of the Nation more; muſt he then with that twentieth part deſtroy all the other nineteen if they will not be converted, but continue in their heatheniſh Idolatry? It cannot poſſibly be ſuppoſed to be warrentable: And this Reason holds good againſt the rooting up and deſtroying of Hereticks out of the world, becauſe an excommunicated perſon is as a Heathen or Infidel, Matth. 18. 17. Beſides, the Lord calls ſome at the third, ſome at the ſixth, ſome at the ninth hour, others at the eleventh: He therefore that deſtroyes any one, Though an Idolater, &c. or hinders his converſion, and ſo brings eternal loſſe to him.

Anſw. That a Magiſtrate providing for the eſtabliſhment of a Commonwealth, ought to temper his ſeverity with Chriſtian prudence. Now it were no prudence at all for him and his twentieth part to wage war with the other nineteen [for a war this were like to beget] in as much as inſtead of eſtabliſhing, this would ruine himſelf and his Commonwealth, with Religion and all.

Suppoſe

Suppose then that he had nineteen parts on his side, and only the twentieth part remained Idolaters, were he to destroy that twentieth part? no surely, we neither think so, nor ever said so: The reason is, because they were never yet converted [they have not as yet *Cognitionem Juris*, the ignorance whereof excuseth them] and who knows but that they may be in due time converted? The Question is, Whether in case of revolt, (after conversion) to Idolatry, or the like, and in case they remain obstinate, going on to blaspheme the Church-censures may not reach them, and the civil Sword overtake them, and cut them off, that the infection spread no farther?

We answer, that they may; and this is *Law in God. Justin. l. 2. Tit. 11. de Paganis, & sacrificiis & Templis. Qui post sanctum baptismum in errore paganorum morientur, ultimo supplicio plebunt.* Let those that ask baptism remain in the error of the Pagans, be put to death; but for those that are not yet baptized, let them without delay take care that their children be baptized: but let the elder first be taught the Scriptures, according to the Canons; and hereunto there is no such penalty annexed; mean while all men are forbidden to assay any thing of Pagan superstition, under pain of corporal torment, and condemnation to the stanneries or perpetual banishment. *Leges Quae, ubi supra.* There is a difference then betwixt a Heathen, and one that is *As a Heathen*. A Heathen ought not to be excommunicated [for it is impossible] nor punished with death for his Idolatry, though some one that is *As a Heathen*, that is, one that hath been a Christian and becomes Heathen again, may; and hereby his conversion is not hindered: for the Apostle to the Hebrews sayes, That *its impossible for such to be renewed by repentance*, Heb. 6. 6.

In the next place they deny that the Kings Majesty hath the same power in causes Ecclesiastical, that the Godly Kings had amongst the Jews; for say they, albeit the Kings of the Jews had power to punish Idolaters and Blasphemers, and some other transgressors of the then Law of God; yet who tells them that the Magistrates under the Gospel-dispensation have such power; hath the Lord Jesus said any such thing, or if he has, where is it written, nay where is it written from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Revelation, that Magistrates under the Gospel should have the same power in religious causes, as those under the Law? If the Judicial Law be a Rule for Magistrates under the Gospel to walk by, then why must it be mangled in pieces by some sort

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of sinners with death, and not cursers of parents, man-stealers, adulterers, Sabbath-breakers which were so punishable by the Judicial Law?

I Answer, That that place of the Prophet *Esaï. 43. 23.* is between the beginning of *Genesis* and the end of the *Revelation*, wherein it is said that *Kings shall be* [h. e. under the Gospel] *Thy* [that is the Churches] *nursing fathers, and Queens thy nursing mothers.* The Original is, *giving suck or nourishers.* Now she that gives milk and nourishment to a child will not suffer the least mote to be in it, that may do the child hurt, much lesse such things as may poyson it. So it is with a Christian Magistrate. It is not enough to see that the milk of the word be duly distributed, to the people, but also that blasphemers and idolaters to the poyson of Religion, be rooted out. To what purpose is it for him to defend her from rapine and violence from abroad [as it is *v. 26.*] if he leaves perdition and ruine at home? And now whereas they say *Why does the Magistrate punish Idolatry and Blasphemy with death, and not cursing of father or mother, man-stealing, adultery, Sabbath-breaking?*

Answer. Because *Idolatry* and *Blasphemy* are so punishable by the Law of Nature, as well as by the Judicial Law of *Moses. Job 2. 9.* Sayes *Job's Wife* to him, *Dost thou yet retain thine integrity? curse God and die.* Whereby it seems that present death was the sure reward of blaspheming God. And *Job. 31. 26.* If sayes he, *I beheld the Sun when it shined, or the Moon walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand: this also were an iniquity to be punished by the Judge, for I should have denied the God that is above.* From whence it is evident, that heathenish Idolatry is punishable by the Magistrate, but how? surely not with lesse then what is due to blasphemy, which see here made a consequent of Idolatry. The other sins mentioned in their objection are made capital by the Judicial Law alone [which indeed is in most things practicable under the Gospel too, if it seems necessary or expedient to the Magistrate, and not otherwise] only as for Sabbath breaking, there can be none where there is no Sabbath binding, nor has been since the abrogation of the Law. Wherefore this their argument taken from things of different Natures thus jumbled together, is as very a fallacy of many Interrogations, as this is, *viz. Nonne Socrates, Plato, Aristoteles, Parm, Eucleides, Leviathan,*
sunt

sunt animalia rationalia? For as some of these are *animalia rationalia*, some not; so some of those appertain to the Judicial Law, some not: some may be the subject of a positive Law under the Gospel if it seems good to the Law-giver; some, as namely Sabbath breaking, cannot, because the Jewish day, and the Jewish observation of it is abrogated.

Hereunto they add, *That the Kings of the Jews had advantages [which we want] to direct them in judgement, as the standing Oracle, the Urim and Thummim, extraordinary Prophets.* Therefore Ahab and others leaving those ran into various errors, persecuted orthodox Prophets, as Jeremy, Michaia, and Elijah.

Ans. That our Adversaries even now confessed, that the punishment of Idolaters, Blasphemers, and some other transgressors, was written in plain precepts of the *Mosaical Law*, for in answer to an Objection, page 21. they have these words, *viz. But in answer we deny not, but the Kings of the Jews had power to punish Idolaters, and Blasphemers, and some other transgressors of the then Law of God: which power was given them of God, and written in plain precepts in the Mosaical Law.* If they had power to punish these things, then what these things were, was notoriously known; otherwise the punishment had been unjustly inflicted. Why then do they [and they almost in the same breath] alledge the *Urim and Thummim, Oracle and Prophets* to direct *Judas* in matter of Law and *Jus universale*, which every man is bound to take notice of? And for matter of fact, *Urim, Thummim, Oracle and Prophets* were extraordinary wayes of discovery of this or of any thing else, never to be made use of but when the thing could not otherwise be known, and that in a matter of great moment too. The ordinary way of discovering matter of fact was by witnesses, or the confession of the party. In case the party would not acknowledge the fault, then *in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established*, Deut. 19. 15. And is not the same rule given in the Gospel, *Mat. 18. 16?* The want therefore of *Urim and Thummim, Oracle and extraordinary Prophets*, did not abolish the right use of the Magistrate; for then after the Captivity the *Jews* had never had the right use of the Magistrate. Now then, if excellent Magistrates under the Law [such as were *Zorobabel* and *Nehemiah*] had no other advantages to Magistracy then we have under the Gospel, their Arguments,

guments, drawn from advantages which the Jews had above the Christians, falls to the ground, and nothing hinders, but that we may have as good a Magistracy under the Gospel as they had under the Law, and altogether as infallible too, or rather [I might have said] as little fallible, for that they were actually fallible is evident, *Neb.* 7. 64, 65. where we read, that some of the Priests offspring sought for the Register of their Genealogy, but it could not be found. What then? The *Tirshatha* or Governour could not resolve it how it stood, as formerly such things were done: and therefore they were not *loas of the holy things till there stood up a Priest with Urim and Thummim*, which never came to pass: And now, I pray you, where was their greater infallibility from this time to the coming of Christ (which was the space of five hundred and thirty years) then Magistrates have ever since had? As for *Ahab*, whom they urge to have erred, I say, that he erred, not for want of advantages which others had, but for want of an honest purpose of mind, which hindered the right use of those advantages, he being a man that had *sold himself to do iniquity*, mean while he ceased not to be a Magistrate.

Another Argument they draw from the *different dispensations of the Gospel from those of the Law*. These dispensations are now a-days more talked of then explained or understood, and least of all in this present affair. *The dispensations are different*, say they, and why? Because, forsooth, *under the Gospel transgressors are not to be proceeded against, as under Moses, by external force and power: God in patience and long-suffering waiting on men.*

Ans. If transgressors are not to be proceeded against, under the Gospel, by external power, how is it then said, that *the power beareth not the sword in vain*; and that it is *the Minister of God to execute wrath on them that do evil*, *Rom.* 13. 4? By *evil* is understood, *all evil*, it being in *materia necessaria*, according to that of *Pro* 20 8. *A King that sitteth on the throne of judgement scattereth away all evil.* If *all*, then it is evil committed as well in spiritual as secular things: And then for patience and long-suffering towards sinners, expecting their repentance: as God is the same God, so has his patience and long-suffering been heretofore as much as now under the Gospel. Was he not one hundred and twenty years before he brought the Flood upon the world of the ungodly? And was he not grieved

forty

forty years with his people, before he swore that they should not enter into his rest, *Psalms 95.* and *Heb. 3.* Whereas now God expects a present embracing of grace offered, *1 Cor. 6. 2.* *Now is the accepted time,* future repentance is not to be presumed upon.

But, say they, *when any continues in disobedience to the Gospel, his punishment is eternal in the world to come;* therefore as the Apostle saith, *1 Cor. 4. 5.* Judge nothing before the time until the Lord come, who will bring to light hidden things of darkness; and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts, and then shall every man have praise of God.

Ans. And so when any one continues in disobedience to the Law, his punishment is eternal too. But what is this place to a mans continuance in disobedience to the Gospel? Is it not alledged by St. Paul himself a Preacher of the Gospel? He would not be judged before the time; for what? for his not continuance in obedience to the Gospel? Nothing less; for he ever continued in obedience to it, and ever preached it. The Question was, whether he were faithful in this his stewardship or no? whereof they were not to be judges, but God alone the searcher of the heart. St. Paul himself *knew nothing by himself, yet was he not thereby justified.* The heart of man is deceitful above all things: and if a man may be deceived in his own heart, it were a rash thing to judge another mans, and that before the time that *the hidden things of darkness shall be brought to light, and the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed* to the view of all men, as now they are to God. It is therefore rash and bottomless judgement that the Apostle here forbids, not that which is passed upon good grounds and serious deliberation. 2. It is saucy censure that is here forbidden, to wit, that they being private men should go about to censure their Apostle and Preacher, when they were rather to be judged by him. 3. It is impertinent judgement that is here forbidden, in going about to judge the heart, when man looketh on the outward appearance only, and judgeth in matter of fact [not in matter of thought] and this is all the Magistrate himself pretends to, wherein it is lawful for him to judge, which is confirmed by the same Apostle, *1 Cor. 2. 6.* *Are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters?* and v. 4. he takes it for granted, that they have judgement *in things pertaining to this life.*

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But

But, say they, 'St. Paul, 1 Tim. 1. 13. says, that he was a blasphemer and a persecutor, and if the mind of God had been that he should have suffered death in that condition, how should he have had repentance given him, and been such a glorious instrument in the Church as afterwards he was?

Ans. That it was neither the mind of God, nor the duty of the Magistrate, to cut off St. Paul for blasphemy before his conversion, as this was; and in the time of ignorance, when nor he, nor the Magistrates, under whom he lived, knew it to be blasphemy to speak against Christ or Christians. Hence it was that he said, that he obtained mercy. The Jews knew not Christ to be the Lord of glory, for had they known it they would not have crucified him. Wherefore St. Peter shews them, that a door of mercy was yet opened unto them. The same may be said of the Jews, alledged by our Adversaries here. The Jews were never yet converted to Christianity, which may be the reason why they are not punished nor condemned for blasphemy against Christ. But in that they say, that the Jews are the greatest blasphemers of Christ that are on the earth, this is true only implicitly; for should they explicitly blaspheme they were worthy of punishment, yea and were punished by the Imperial Laws, as may be seen in *Cod. Justiniani l. 1. c. 9. de Judais & Caliculis*, where it is decreed, 'That if any of those *Judais* or *Caliculis* did attempt any mischief against them that refused to entertain their Sect, they and their confederates should be committed to the fire. And again, If any Jew did presume but to introduce any one to his religion, he was to be condemned to a proscription of his goods, and punished after a miserable manner. And a third Law says, 'That if a Jew presumed to draw a Christian to his religion, he was to be proscribed, and sustain the punishment of blood. They have been heretofore permitted to live here, as they are now elsewhere amongst Christians, but how little it has wrought upon them all the world knows: it is not Gods time yet, it seems, to take away the vail that is drawn over their eyes. Mean while you must understand, that the Jews remaining Jews, do not acknowledge themselves the natural subjects of any Prince in the world. They will admit themselves to be the local subjects of those under whom they are, and will not be received to that neither, but upon conditions of freedom; wherefore it was a Law Imperial,

Cod.

which fell upon the Hill of Sion.

67

Cod. Justin. l. v. Tit. 9. de Judais & Galiculis; *Ritus* *pro* *ut* *contempnum* *Christiana* *religionis* *retineant*; that they might retain their Rites without contempt of the Christian Religion.

Neither will it be for the purpose of our adversaries to urge the Toleration of more than one Religion in other parts of the world, as in France and several parts of Germany: for first, In tolerating of them, they tolerate nor blasphemy or heathenish idolatry: for in France it self their civil courts take cognizance, *Des crimes de l'ex-Majesté divine & humaine*, b. c. of crimes of Treason against God and the King. 2. in France the King permits but two Religions, nor all, as these men would have done here. So in Germany Popery and the Augustane confession have been permitted together, but not all Religions: and how comes even these things to pass, but because Princes give away that power over the Church, wherein God has vested them, to the Pope, or people, That the King of France hath so done is clear from the *Pragmatica Sanctio*: wherein its acknowledged that the Kings of France own originally, no Superiour, but God, and that without the said *pragmatical sanction*, the Acts of the Council of *Basil* were of no validity, [which was done at *Bourges* by an Assembly of the Estates, and confirmed by the King, shortly after the celebration of the said Council of *Basil*, which was *anno Domini*, 1436. And that this hath ever since obtained in France appears by the following censure of the contrary doctrine.

Censure de la sacree faculté de Theologie de Paris, contre la puissance temporelle du Pape.

Le premier jour d'Avril mil six cents vingt six, à pres la Messe du St. Esprit, l'assemblée estant faite à l'acoustumée en la salle du College de Sorbonne, touchant le hienre impie de Saternelly Jesuite, ony le rapport de docteurs que la faculté avoit deputez, lesquels ont exposé qu es deux chapistres qui leur avoient estez Mar-
quez,

quez, estoient contenues les propositions suivantes : Que le Pape peut punir les Roys & les Princes de peines temporelles, les déposer & priver de leur Royanme & estats pour crime d'Herésie & delivrer leurs sujets de leur obéissance : & que telle a tousjours esté la custume de l'Eglise. Et non seulement pour l'herésie mais encore pour d'autres causes, a sçavoir pour leur pechez s'il est ainsi expedient : si les Princes sont negligens : s'ils sont incapables & inutiles. De plus que le Pape a la puissance sur les choses spirituelles, & sur toutes les temporelles, & qu'il a cette puissance de droit divin. qu'il faut croire que le pouvoir a esté donné a l'Eglise & a son Souverain Pasteur de punir de peines temporelles les Princes qui pechent contre les Loix divines & humaines : particulièrement si leur crime est une herésie. Ils ont aussi dit que Saterneley affirme que les Apostres estoient bien sujets au Princes séculiers, mais non de droit, & mesme qu'aussi tost que la majesté du Souverain Pontife a esté établie, tous les Princes luy ont esté sujets bref ils ont rapporté que cet Authheur explique ces paroles de Jesus Christ, Mat. 16. Tout ce que vous liez sur la terre & non seulement de la puissance spirituelle, mais aussi de la temporelle, & qu'il corrompt le text de St. Paul 2 ad Cor. 10. Potestatem dedit nobis Dominus in ædificationem & non in destructionem, en retranchant une negation, & fait dire a plusieurs auteurs, qu'il cite de choses a quoy ils n'ont jamais pensé. concluant que tant, ces choses que pluse, autres qu'ils ont rapportées meritoient tres-justement la correction & la censure de la faculté : Monsieur le Doyen ayant mis la chose en deliberation apres que les opinions de tous les Docteurs ont esté, ouyes & leurs voix recueillies la faculté a impronve & condamne la Doctrine

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contenne en ces propositions, & aux conclusions desdites chapitres comme estant nouvelles, fausses, erronees, & contraire a la parole de Dieu, qui rend la dignite du Souverain Pontife odieux, & ouvre la chemin au scisme, qui deroge, a l'authorite Souverain de Roys, qui ne depend que de Dieu seul, & empeche la conversion de Princes infidels & heretiques : qui trouble la paix universelle & renverse les Royaumes, les estats, & les Republiques, Bref qui detourne les sujets de l'obeissance qu'ils doivent a leur Souverains, & les induit a des factions, rebellions & seditions, & a attenter de la vie de leur Princes, fait en Sorbonne, les jour & an que dessus, & recen le 14. Avril. 1626. Par le commandement de messieurs les Doyens & Docteurs de la sacree faculte de Theologie de Paris.

Signe

Ph. Bouvot.

The French deriving themselves from the confines of Germany. The like may be said of the German Powers : and the powers that are are of God, Rom. 13. and depend immediately upon him. But these powers, I say, are for the most part given away to the Pope by the true owners of them ; whereas did they reform Religion by their own authority, as the Kings of England have done, all men might quickly be brought to subscribe and submit to that Religion and Government, which they should authorize according to the word of God, and the consent of antiquity, which would never have been brought to pass in England, had the Kings referred themselves herein to Pope or people.

And whereas they urge that it makes for the security of Princes to give liberty to all.

I answer, That then this security must be either from God or man:

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from God it cannot be, in as much as he that gives liberty to all religions evidently shews that he has no regard of any, but merely as to the notion of it: in which case, what security can he expect from God? neither let our present adversaries think they please God in pleading for a liberty of blasphemy, though they pretend that their very soul abhor it: from *man* it will not be, for thereby he will create as many interests as Religions, which will unite against the law-fullest of all [which they know will aim at an uniformity] though they shall no sooner have beaten down this then they will fall a squabbling among themselves. In which regard it may be said of them as *Plutarch* speaks of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, namely, that it was not their dissension which was the cause of the civil war, as was commonly supposed, but their union rather, in as much as they first went about to ruine the authority of the Senate and of the Nobility, and then they quarrelled among themselves, saying, saies he, which *Cato* many times foretold and prophesied. Those that aim at usurpation catch most fish in these troubled waters. Thus did *Jeroboam*, whom our adversaries instance in, as if it made for them, when indeed they could not have found an example in all the Bible, or in all the world, that makes more against them. They say that *Jeroboam* wanting faith to believe that his new kingdom could any ways be secured to him, or kept from going back to the lineage of *David*, unless he devised some new way of worship to keep the people in their own land, and for his so doing he thought he had much reason of state: whereupon he took counsel and made two calves of gold, 1 *Kin.* 12. 16, 17, 18. and said unto them, it is too much for you to go up to *Jerusalem*; behold thy God, O *Israel*, which brought thee out of the land of *Egypt*, which policy of his procured this event which God denounced against him, saying, I will bring evil upon the house of *Jeroboam*, and will cut off from *Jeroboam* him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is shut up and left in *Israel*, and will take away the remnant of the house of *Jeroboam*, as a mantaketh away dung till it be all gone. And 1 *Kin.* 14. 10, 11. for the sin wherein he made *Israel* to sin is he branded to all posterity, &c. whereunto they adde by way of application, *be wise now therefore O ye Kings, Ps. 2.*

Answer. They should have said, *Be wise now therefore O ye Rebels,* such *Jeroboam* was. This *Jeroboam* an obscure fellow, and servant

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to Solomon, 1 Kin. 11. 26. rebelled against his King, and by his artifices drew away ten tribes after him from Rehoboam, and the house of David under which the true worship of God remained and flourished. Now Jeroboam considering that he was but a rod sent to scourge Gods people, and to be thrown into the fire at last, used all means to cross providence, and to perpetuate the Kingdom to himself and his posterity, which he knew to rest chiefly in the business of Religion. Then well weighing that if he suffered the people to use their old way of worship, it would prove a means to reduce them to obedience to their lawful Sovereign. He therefore perswades them that they need not go to Jerusalem, saying that the Calves which he had set up, the one in Bethel, and the other in Dan, were the Gods which brought them out of the Land of Egypt: for which the curse of God lighted on his family, as our adversaries have noted, and he was branded with a note of perpetual infamy so often repeated in the history of the Kings of Israel; viz. Jeroboam the son of Nebat who made Israel to sin.

Just so was it here: we had a Jeroboam who rebelled against his King, after whose death [which he contrived too] he carried away the proportion of ten tribes after him: and the better to assure them to himself, told them they need not look after Churches and Sceptle-bomfas, nor the Religion which was there taught and practised by those that frequented them; that they might set up the golden calves of their own spirits, and adore them where they pleased, made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the Tribe of Levi. That is, sent those to preach and pray that had neither Ordination nor learning. Now he is gone, and how much more of this dunghill is swept away, I cannot precisely tell, but this note of infamy will rest upon him, namely, that he made England, Scotland, and Ireland to sin. And thus we see how their own argument *ab exemplo* in every particular makes against themselves, and against that liberty they contend for, so unlucky they have been in it.

Sol.

Sect. 16.

IN the next place they press the *liberty granted to tender consciences by the Kings Majesties Declaration from BRED AH.*

Ans. And so they had it, till that fell out which might be foreseen, *viz.* A making use of it to an insurrection in London, which might have put all the Kingdom into a flame; had they not been as fanatick in their undertake as in their opinions, perswading themselves that *one of them should chase a thousand.* And why this Liberty was restrained, is set forth in the Kings Majesties Proclamation to that purpose, by whom it was never intended to grant a Liberty to others which might put a restraint upon his Majesties own self at last.

As for what they *urge* out of Dr. Taylor, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor in his *Liberty of prophesying, and his Epistle Dedicatory to it,* I say that he might think it high time, even for the *Orthodox* to cry up a liberty of opinions amongst the rest, when the cry of others had prevailed for the liberty of all Religions but the true: and our Adversaries, to render their present cry the greater, produce the *testimony of the ancients in the margin.*

But to make up the number 15. which they promised in their Title Page, they have made some of them separatists from themselves, by dividing *Minutius* from *Felix*, *Sulpitius* from *Severus*, *Socrates* from *Scholasticus*; for otherwise they had had but a petty Jury: this they never took from that learned Bishop since then, *male describendo*, yea, and *male vertendo* too, these have made them their own; my task will be to answer them only: The thing insisted on this, that *for the first 300. years there was no sign of persecuting of any man for his opinion, though at that time there were many horrid opinions commenced.*

Ans. That this is either generally to be understood: *b. e.* of Christianity in general persecuted; or else of any man or mens being persecuted by other Christian or Christians for matter of opinion. If generally understood, I oppose thereunto the 10 Persecutions, which happened in the first 300. years. The 1. was under Nero, anno 67. whose decree was that to confesse a mans self to be a Christian, should

should be capital. The 2. under *Domitian*, ann. 90. The 3. under *Trajan*, ann. 100, whereof *Plini* to *Trajan*, l. 10. *Epist.* 111. The 4. under *Adrian*, and *Antoninus Pius*, ann. 126. The 5. under *Antoninus Philosophus*, and *Antoninus Verus*, ann. 168. The 6. under *Severus*, ann. 203. The 7. under *Maximinus*, ann. 236. The 8. under *Decius*, an. 251. The 9. under *Valerianus*, ann. 258. The tenth under *Diocletian*, an. 303. If this would be understood restrictively of any man or mens being persecuted by other Christians: I answer, 1. That I hope they will recall their word *persecuting*. *Horrid opinions* may be prosecuted and punished, not persecuted; I mean in the Scripture acception of the Word, though in the Law it be so accounted. *Cod. l. 1. t. 5. l. 6. Manichæos seu Manichæas vel Donatistæ meritißima severitate persequimur*. 2. If *horrid opinions* were only commenced, they were but begun; but sin when it is perfected (and not before) bringeth forth death by the Laws of God; and if horrid sin, by man too. 3. For persecuting, or (as they call it) persecuting for opinions, either commenced or perfected, what power had they to do it withall, when all the Emperours were Heathen, & there was no eminent Magistrate to take cognizance of differences among Christians themselves, otherwise then to foment them; that thereby they might become the ruine one of another? 2. Of the Authors alledged, the Historians (whom only I look upon for matter of fact) say nothing in the business, and therefore prove nothing at all. As for instance, *Sulpitius Severus* says nothing of one Christians persecuting another. *Ergo*, one Christian did not persecute another: this is a *non sequitur*, it being an argument from humane authority, and therefore holds not negatively, especially from the authority of one that has written but an Epitome, a very manual of history, which cannot be comprehensive of all things, neither does he mention any thing but the ten persecutions, and what relates to them in all that three hundred years, which he does too in less then one hundred and fifty lines in *Octavo*, of a St. *Augustine* print, which could not have been much had it been so many lines in a *Minion* or *Nonparil*. And as *Sulpitius Severus* did not; so *Socrates Scholasticus* could not speak any thing of this matter; in as much as his history begins with *Constantine*, which was after the expiration of the said three hundred years.

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Thirdly,

The dew of Hermon

Thirdly, did any of those Authours speak against persecution for matter of opinion? then this is an argument that there was such a persecution (so our adversaries are pleased to call it) or else they fought with a shadow.

Their dislike hereof consisted in two things, 1. That any should be put to death meerly for his opinion, and this was St. *Austin's* dislike, who was first of opinion that it was not honest to use any violence to misperswaded persons, but afterwards he retracted it, *Retract. l. 2. c. 5.* quoted by the Dr. himself *lib. of proph. sect. 14.* We agree with St. *Austin*, as we have signified all along, that no man is to be put to death for simple heresy, *h. e. qua* heresy, unless it has joyned with it Blasphemy, Heathenish Idolatry, Sedition, or the like.

The Doctour himself allows punishing *Romish* priests with death, not as for Religion, but as enemies to the state, *Serm. at St. Maries on Gunpow. Treason*, neither does the said Dr. disallow of Laws for punishing of Hereticks in general with corporal punishment; only he would have the execution of those Laws upon emergencies committed to the discretion of the Governours of the Church, *ib. sect. 17.* The second thing those forementioned Authours or any of them disliked was, that any man should be *compelled* to a Religion, nor that he should be *corrected* for his wandrings from it: and so much is learned from *Tertullian ad Scap. Nec religionis est cogere religionem, qua sponte suscipi debet, non vi*; and this has been our tenet all along.

But, say they, *This restraining of liberty, imposing upon mens consciences, and lording over their faith, came in with the train and retinue of Antichrist, that is, they came as other abuses and corruptions of the Church did, by reason of the iniquity of the times, and the cooling of the first heats of Christianity, and the increase of interest, and the abatement of Christian simplicity.*

Anse. That if this *restraining*, and *imposing*, and *lording* be meant of the Popes infallibility, and resolving every thing into that *Chimera*, then I agree, that it came in with the train and retinue of Antichrist.

And its an argument the men of this generation are the train and retinue of Antichrist, whose *opiniatreté* or self-conceitedness is such,

such, that every one thinks himself a Pope in that regard. Therefore the granting of liberty to them is to acknowledge their infallibility, and consequently, were there a thousand Religions amongst them, every one must be acknowledged to be the true; and then what would become of ONE LORD, ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISME? *Ephes. 4. 5.* but if this restraining be meant of any other restraint by the Civil Magistrate; Liberty was restrained before *Phocas* his time [who was called the Midwife of Antichrist] as may be seen in *Cod. Justiniani l. 1. t. 5. and t. 9.* which Code was composed, [*Anno 529. and 530.* above seventy years before *Phocas*] not of Laws then newly enacted, but of such as had been made by his Predecessors long before, amongst which those that touch the present business were those of *Arcadius, Honorius, Valentinianus, Theodosius, &c.* all promoters of the orthodox faith, and therefore ushered not in the train and retinue of Antichrist, which never did so lordly and imperiously appear as in Pope *Hildebrand*, called *Gregory* the seventh, who sat at *Rome* between four hundred and five hundred years after *Phocas*, and above five hundred and forty years after the last composition of the Code. He first of all the Popes excommunicated the Emperour, and arrogated to himself the power of instituting an Emperour.

I agree likewise, that the King of France his giving permission to the Huguenots has proved prosperous to that Nation, though most prosperous to the Huguenots themselves, who have found more happiness in peace and obedience, then ever they did in rebellion, and holding out against the power and authority of their King. But had he given the same liberty to all Religions, it must have been the confusion of it, and as displeasing to the Huguenots, as the denial of liberty to themselves had been before. In every assembly of the Huguenots the King has a Commissary, to see that nothing be decreed amongst them against the interest of the Crown: But how can such a thing be among men of all Religions, and no Principles?

I agree likewise, 'That liberty of conscience should be preferred in all things where God hath not made a limit: For the Article of our Church, before mentioned, says, 'That she has not

power to impose any thing contrary to the Word of God, yea or besides it, as necessary to salvation.

I agree, 'That the soul of man should be free, and acknowledge no Master but Jesus Christ: And yet may it be subject to humane Laws, which do bind the conscience in themselves, not for themselves, but for and on the behalf of God and Jesus Christ, who commandeth every soul to be subject to the higher power, Rom. 13. and in this regard matters spiritual may be restrained by punishments corporal, as we have already said.

I agree too, that meeknesse, and charity, and longanimity should be exercised towards those in error: and lastly, 'That the infirmity of man, and difficulty of things, should be both put in the balance to make abatement in the definitive sentences against mens persons.

But what is all this to idolatry, sedition, and blasphemy, which our Adversaries have herein endeavoured to maintain as not punishable by the Magistrate? And what is this to those streams of opinions breathed out of the bottomlesse pit, against which they would not have the Magistrate as much as hold his nose?

Therefore they go on and say, 'That the best of men, and most glorious Princes, were alwayes ready to give toleration, but never to make execution for matters disputable: as *Eusebius* in his second book of the life of *Constantine* reports:

Ans. All this we grant: But what is all this to horrid opinions, or practises, against which severe Laws were made by glorious Princes? These were not of things disputable, & de quibusdam viculis, as they are termed in the title of the Chapter of the said second Book of *Eusebius*, concerning which there was no Law made, nor like to be made, against which any toleration or whereupon any sentence might be given, upon which any execution might be suspended. But they were of matters of higher concern, as will appear by the Laws themselves. The first was that of *Constantine* the Great, who after the *Nicene* Council commanded the books of *Arius* to be burnt, and that he who neglected it should be put to death, as is observed by *Alphonfus a Castro*, de just. Hereticorum punitione l. 2. c. 15. So *Theodosius* commanded the *Donatists* to be put to death, as *Minus Celsus Senensis* himself witnesseth. But the *Cod. of Justinian*, l. 1, Tit. 5. testifies

fies more in this matter then I need now to write, wherein we find that there is a Law made by the Emperours *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, for the perpetual silencing of heresies and Hereticks, *ut Hareses perpetuo quiescant*. Another for interdicting all Conventicles of them to be held either night or day, made by *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. Another against the *Manichees* in particular, That they be Out-laws, suffer a publication of their goods, barred of all liberality of, or succession to others, that all power of giving, or selling, or contracting be taken away from them, and much more. Another made by *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, against the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Pneumatomachi*, *Apollinarians*, *Novatians*, or *Sebatians*, *Eunomians*, *Tetradites* or *Tessarescadecadites*, *Valentinians*, *Paulians*, *Papianists*, *Montanists*, or *Priscillianists*, the *Phryges* or *Prapusites*, *Marcionites*, *Borborites*, *Messalians*, *Enchites*, or *Enthusiasts*, *Donatists*, *Audians*, *Hydroparastars*, *Tascodrogites*, *Ratrachites*, *Hermogenians*, *Photinians*, *Paulianians*, *Marcellians*, *Ophites*, *Encratists*, *Carpocratites*, *Saccophornites*, (*& qui ad imam usque scelerum nequitiam pervenerunt*) the *Manichees*, that they have no place either of abode or convening, *in Romanum locum*. As for the *Manichees*, they were not only to be banished the Cities; but they were to be (*tradendi ultimo supplicio*) delivered to death, least the Elements should be infected with them, or injured by them. Another Law was made by them, That they that adhered to the opinion of *Nestorius* should not be called Christians, but *Nestorians*; from their Author *Nestorius*, whose impious books, written against the Decrees of the Council of *Ephesus*, every man was forbidden to have, to read, or to write out, but were diligently to be searched for and burned. All places of meeting were thereby forbidden these *Nestorians*; and whoso offended against this Law, was to suffer publication of his goods. Another Law was made by *Valen*, and *Marcian*, against the followers of *Eutyches*, whose opinions were condemned by the Council of *Nice*, consisting of three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and in the *Constantinopolitan* Council, consisting of one hundred and fifty other Bishops. These were called also *Apollinarists*, and were to ordain no Presbyters under pain of confiscation; they were to have no Monasteries, nor meetings by day or by night, under pain of forfeiture of the house, if the owner were aware,

aware of it, or else ten pound in gold : they were to have no room in the Militia, &c. Divers other Laws are there to be seen, whereby the *Manichees* are punishable with death, other Hereticks with confiscation, or the like. Now albeit the capital punishments here mentioned were seldome inflicted, yet others doublets were, even those of banishment and confiscation. [Nay, as we have noted before, that severe Laws were made against the misbehaviour of the Jews : So *Soc. Scholast.* tells us, *Hist.* 7. 16. that condign punishment was undergone by some of them, upon the command of the Emperour, for scoffing at Christ and Christianity in their Crucifixion of a Christian Boy.] To these Laws, it is probable that King *James* had an eye in his Declaration against *Vorstius*, sent by an Embassadour to the States of *Holland*, wherein he manifesteth his detestation of *Vorstius's* horrid opinions, as deserving the banishment of the Author, rather than the honour of his being a publick Professor in that famous University of *Leyden*. And this learned King of happy memory I mention, the rather, because our Adversaries alledge him writing to the *United Provinces*, and advising them to maintain peace, by bearing one with another in (such) differences of opinions and judgement.

Ans. This is true, if by such differences be meant disputable things; and such perhaps as were meant by *Constantine* in the fore-said 55. c. of the second book of *Eusebius*, though not the same, wherein he would have men perswaded to a pious *Syncretisme* rather than a Schisme, which might occasion the Magistrate to make use of his Sword : which wholesome counsel it were to be wished men would take amongst us : where one party decryes the other for *Arminian*, which is it self as fast decryed for *Calvinist*, on the other side, both, though they differ in their Doctrines, agree in their Uses and Applications, and take all the Articles of our Church to be for them, as is observed by the Kings Majesty of blessed memory, in his Declaration set before the book of Articles. But that they might as well agree in Doctrines as Uses, they should do well to take up that excellent moderation prescribed by our Church in the close of the seventeenth Article, which is, That *Gods promises are to be received* [not to curious disputes, but] *as they are generally set forth in the Scripture, and in our doings that will of God is to be followed,*

followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

And as for the *Emperours, and Duke of Savoy's tolerations, together with that of Polonia and Rome it self*, alledged here for their defence: I say, it is one thing what they did upon State policy, and another thing what they would have done, had they not been under a necessity of doing it. The King of *Spain* has made a peace with the *Hollander*, notwithstanding his claim he makes to the *Low Countries*; why? because he has irons enough in the fire elsewhere. The case was so with *Ferdinand of Germany, Emanuel of Savoy*, the State of *Poland*, the *Emperours of Rome*, a necessity lying upon them to do as they did: but by the way I must tell you, that there were Laws made against the *Novatians* before *Justinian's* time, witness that before quoted out of the Code, which was enacted by *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* against that rabble of Hereticks, whereof the *Novatians* were a part; and even that Law refers to others formerly made particularly against their Conventicles, which they falsely called Churches. Neither did the others want Laws against a liberty of Religion, though they thought it necessary to tolerate it. Which necessity ceasing, the *Popes* [as their following words would have it] were the first preachers of force and violence in matters of Religion, and yet it came not so far as death, but the first that preached that Doctrine was *Dominick* the founder of the Order of begging Fryars.

Ans^r. That (as I conceive) neither were the *Popes* the first preachers of force and violence, neither was *Dominick* the first founder of begging Fryars; for I have already proved, that force in this case has been practised before, taught by *St. Austin*, and approved by God himself, in giving men into the hands of *Satan* for the punishment of the flesh. Nay did not the whole Christian world agree together upon the same principle in the holy war against Infidels [which is more then we have undertaken to justify] though the same power which was raised against them, was turned against Christians upon the instigation of *Dominick*? This *Dominick* was not the founder of begging Fryars [for these owe their beginning to *S. Francis of Assize*] but of a new order of working Fryars, who being unable to maintain themselves by working, were forced to piece

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piece out their maintenance by begging. The new Order I call them: for here even in this Island about six hundred years before *Dominick*, the Monks of *Bangor* were about two thousand and one hundred that lived upon the work of their hands, as *Bede* witnesseth, *Hist. Eccles. Gent. Ang. l. 2. c. 2.*

In the next place, to the pretended *injustice of the executions that are urged to have been done in the reign of Henry the sixth for matter of opinion*, I say that what was done, was occasioned not so much for opinions, as for the hostile manner that the assertors of those opinions assembled themselves in, which was pernicious in it self, and dangerous to the State. These were called by several names, one whereof was *Lollards*, not as owing their beginning to *Lollardus* a *German* [if I may have the liberty of conjecture] but as being so called, *quasi Lowlords*, *h. e.* Levellers: for in Acts and Monuments they are also written *Lolleards*, the termination whereof comes near to the *Scottish* word *Laird* for Lord.

In the last place it is objected, *Why are we so zealous against those we call Hereticks, and yet great friends with drunkards, and fornicatours, and swearers, and intemperate, and idle persons, &c.*

Answer. This Argument holds for those that are onely called Hereticks, but are not certainly known to be so: whereas that which is Heresy indeed is a spiritual drunkenness, and a spiritual fornication, and which usually carries along with it an interest destructive to the King and Church, which Hereticks will fight for as eagerly, as a corporal fornicatour will do for his Paramour; and therefore more severely to be punished then corporal drunkenness in those that are guilty of it: for it may be said of corporal drunkards, as *Cæsar* did of *Dolabella*, whom he was advised to beware of, *I am not afraid*, said he, *of such fat perewig'd fellows as he is; they are the pate and the lean men that I stand in fear of*, meaning *Cassius* and *Brutus*; so *Plut. in vita Cæsaris*. Yet this I adde namely, that he who is a friend to an unbounded liberty of opinions [such as these men contend for] is a friend to drunkenness too, inasmuch as he that hath liberty to think what he pleases in any thing [for hither these men would extend liberty] will judge it lawfull to take a cup too much at sometimes. And where have you greater drinking then amongst the *Low-Country* men, where liberty of opinion is allowed? In so much,

much, that a very famous man [and he a publick Professour too] failing his Auditours of a Lecture one day, made an Apology for himself the next, and said, The reason was that he had been drunk over night. This I had from one of the greatest friends they have in England, and therefore not very likely to raise a false report of them. And to let you know that this Nation observes no just measure in anything appertaining to God or *Cesar*; another hath expressed this their moral Scazon, by a metrical one, in these words,

*Uringue clauda Gens Batava jampridem est :
Sed cur, & unde nosse vis ? id in promptu.
Deo rebellis, & rebellis est Regi.*

It nonne summo jure aliter clauda

Per omne crux, & omnia per latus possunt,

Quibus est fides luxura, valga, distorta,

Fidelis que fuita torquet tota?

The *Batavian* on both feer goes awry.

Wouldst know the cause ? I'll tell thee by and by.

He's Rebel both 'gainst God, and 'gainst his Prince;

And he whose cheverel conscience can dispense

With faith to th' one, and fealty to th' other,

His legs, and fides, and all will halt together.

As for Disputations so much desired; they are good in themselves, but, for the most part, so partially reported, that I have seldom known any good come of them: for when men cannot confute what others say, they will make them say what they can confute.

F I N I S.

